This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

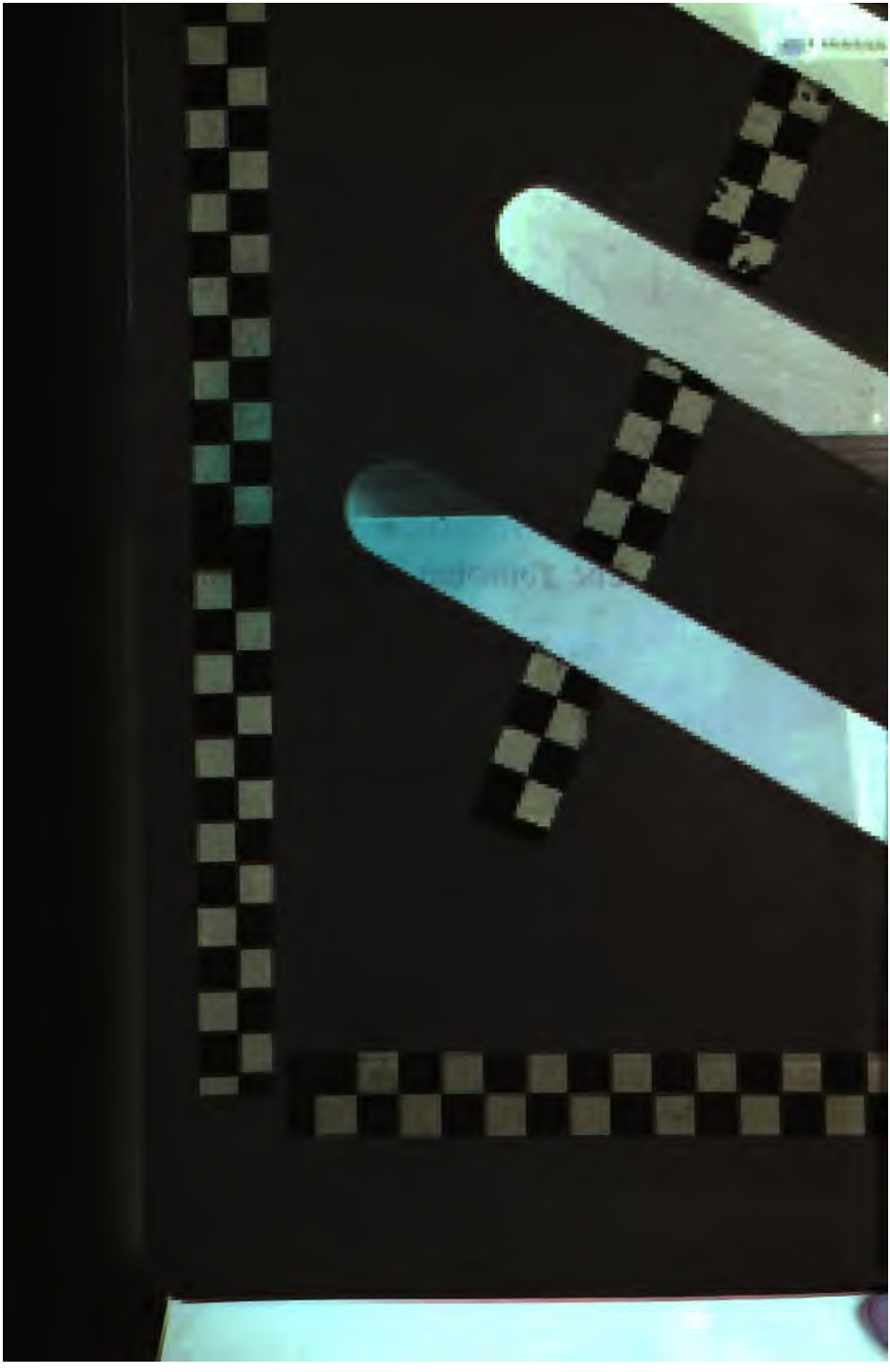
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES
3 3433 06182917 6

BAC

X AND
TIONS



The Founding of Constantinople

A.D. 330

From Painting by Rubens

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
781279A
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS
R 1935 L

COPYRIGHT 1903
BY P. F. COLLIER & SON

THE WORLD'S GREAT EVENTS

IN FIVE VOLUMES

A HISTORY OF THE WORLD FROM ANCIENT TO MODERN TIMES
B.C. 4004 TO A.D. 1903

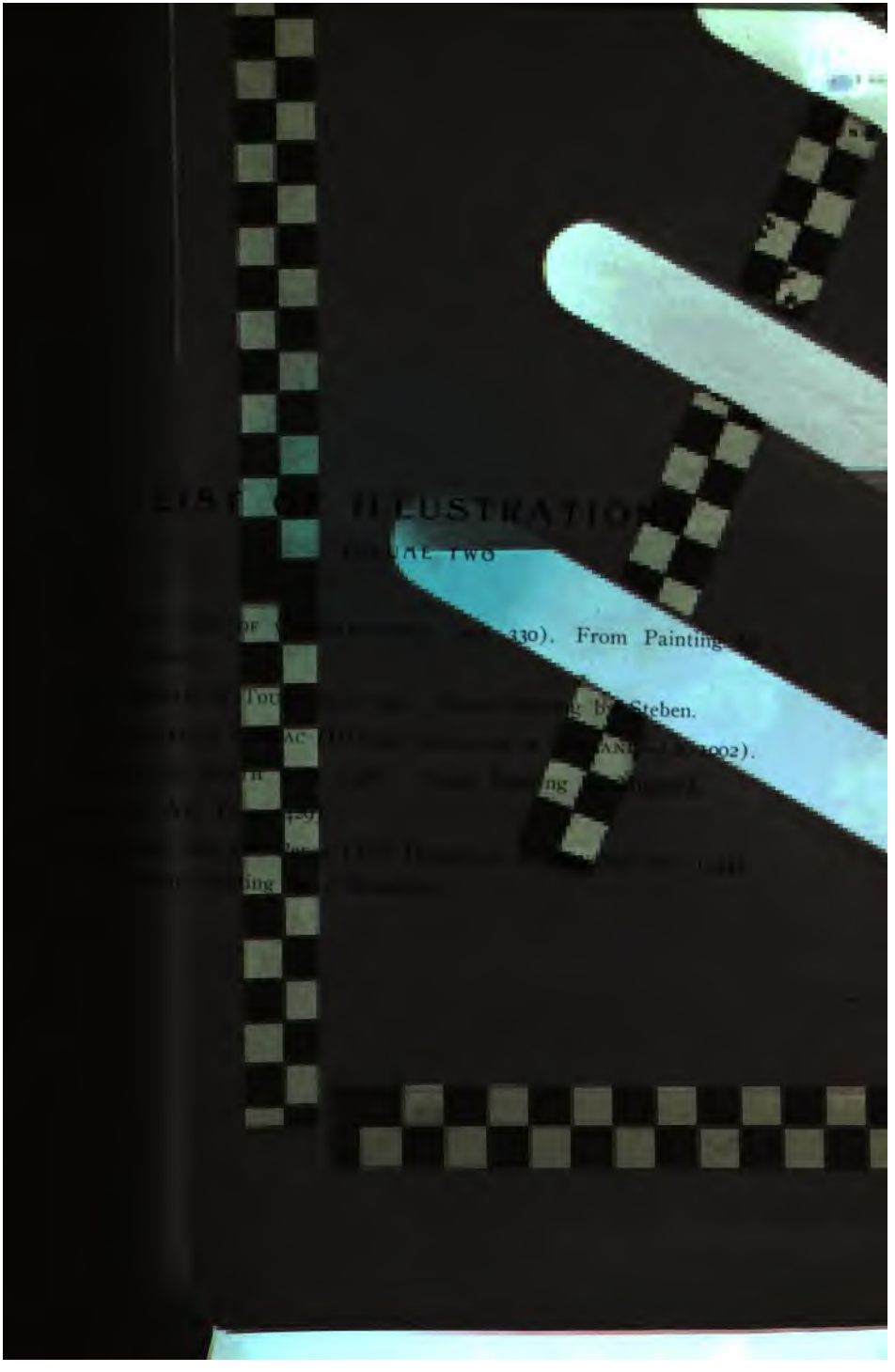
By ESTHER SINGLETON

ILLUSTRATED WITH NUMEROUS FULL-PAGE DRAWINGS
EXECUTED IN DUOGRAPH

VOLUME TWO MEDIÆVAL
A.D. 79 TO A.D. 1477

NEW YORK
P. F. COLLIER & SON
MCMIII

RISE OF FEUDALISM. Charles H. Pearson 695
THE FIRST CRUSADE (A.D. 1096). Jules Michelet 704
THE THIRD CRUSADE (A.D. 1190). William Stubbs 722
THE FOURTH CRUSADE (A.D. 1202). Jules Michelet 731
CONQUESTS OF ZINGIS KHAN (A.D. 1200-1227). Edward Gibbon 743
CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES (A.D. 1208-1229). William Francis Collier 753
THE MAGNA CHARTA (A.D. 1215). J. F. Bright 760
ORDER OF THE TEUTONIC KNIGHTS (A.D. 1226). Henry Hart Milman 773
THE BARONS' WAR AND FIRST ENGLISH PARLIAMENT (A.D. 1257-1265). William Stubbs 780
THE SICILIAN VESPERS (A.D. 1282). Jules Michelet 795
MARCO POLO'S TRAVELS (A.D. 1291). Henry Yule 804
THE SWISS CONFEDERACY: THE SWISS WAR OF INDEPENDENCE (A.D. 1307). Sutherland Menzies 813
SUPPRESSION OF THE TEMPLARS (A.D. 1307-1313). David Hume . 818
BANNOCKBURN (A.D. 1314). Andrew Lang 822
THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE (A.D. 1343-1669). Richard Lodge . . 837
BATTLE OF CRECY (A.D. 1346). David Hume 846
REVOLUTIONS IN ROME (A.D. 1347). Henry Hallam 855
THE BLACK DEATH (A.D. 1348). J. F. C. Hecker 862
EXECUTION OF MARINO FALIERO (A.D. 1355). Oscar Browning . . 879
THE JACQUERIE (A.D. 1358). Henri Martin 885
COSMO DE' MEDICI (A.D. 1389-1464). William Roscoe 896
THE INVASION OF TAMERLANE (A.D. 1307). Mahummud Casim Ferishta 904
COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE AND THE HUSSITE WAR (A.D. 1414-1437). Sutherland Menzies 915
BATTLE OF AGINCOURT (A.D. 1415). David Hume 925
JOAN OF ARC AT ORLEANS (A.D. 1429). E. S. Creasy 935
THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE (A.D. 1453). Edward Gibbon . . 952
INVENTION OF PRINTING (A.D. 1454). J. H. Hessels 973
NANCY—DEATH OF CHARLES THE BOLD (A.D. 1476-1477). Jules Michelet 982



ERUPTION OF MOUNT VESUVIUS

(A.D. 79)

PLINY

YOUR request* that I would send you an account of my uncle's death, in order to transmit a more exact relation of it to posterity, merits my acknowledgments; for, if the glorious circumstances which occasioned this accident shall be celebrated by your pen, the manner of his exit will be rendered forever illustrious. Notwithstanding he perished by a misfortune, which, as it involved at this time a most beautiful country in ruins, and destroyed so many populous cities, seems to promise him an everlasting remembrance; notwithstanding he has himself composed many works which will descend to the latest times; yet, I am persuaded, the mentioning of him in your immortal writings will greatly contribute to eternize his name. Happy I deem those to be whom the gods have distinguished with the abilities either of performing such actions as are worthy of being related, or of relating them in a manner worthy of being read; but doubly happy are they who

Pliny writes for posterity.

* Letter to Tacitus.

Tribute to the elder Pliny.

are blessed with both these uncommon endowments; and in that number my uncle, as his own writings and your history will prove, may justly be ranked. It is with extreme willingness, therefore, I execute your commands; and I should, indeed, have claimed the task if you had not enjoined it. He was, at that time, with the fleet under his command, at Misenum.* On the 24th of August, about one in the afternoon, my mother desired him to observe a cloud which appeared of a very unusual size and shape. He had just returned from enjoying the benefit of the sun, and, after bathing in cold water, and taking a slight repast, was retired to his study; he immediately arose, and went out upon an eminence, from whence he might more distinctly view this very singular phenomenon. It was not at that distance discernible from what mountain this cloud issued, but it was found afterward to proceed from Vesuvius. I can not give you a more exact description of its figure than by resembling it to that of a pine-tree; for it shot up a great height in the form of a tall trunk, which spread at the top into a sort of branches; occasioned, I suppose, either that the force of the internal vapors which impelled the cloud upward, decreased in strength as it advanced, or that the cloud, being pressed back by its own weight, expanded itself in the manner

The Plinys notice an unnatural cloud.

* In the Gulf of Naples.

I have mentioned; it appeared sometimes bright, and sometimes dark and spotted, as it was either more or less impregnated with earth and cinders. This uncommon appearance excited my uncle's philosophical curiosity to take a nearer view of it. He accordingly ordered a light vessel to be prepared, and offered me the liberty, if I thought proper, to attend him. I rather chose to continue the employment in which I was engaged; for it happened that he had given me a certain writing to copy. As he was going out of the house with his tablets in his hand, he was met with the mariners belonging to the galleys stationed at Retina, from which they had fled in the utmost terror; for that port being situated at the foot of Vesuvius, they had no other way to escape than by sea. They conjured him, therefore, not to proceed and expose his life to imminent and inevitable danger. In compliance with their advice, he changed his original intention, and, instead of gratifying his philosophical spirit, he resigned it to the more magnanimous principle of aiding the distressed. With this view, he ordered the fleet immediately to put to sea, and went himself on board with an intention of assisting not only Retina, but the several other towns which stood thick upon that beautiful coast. Hastening to the place, therefore, from whence others fled with the utmost terror, he steered his direct course to the point of danger, and

The elder Pliny wishes to observe it more closely.

He is begged not to proceed thither.

Pliny resolves to aid the distressed.

781279A

with so much calmness and presence of mind as to be able to make and dictate his observations upon the appearance and progress of that dreadful scene. He was now so near the mountain that the cinders, which grew thicker and hotter the more he advanced, fell into the ships, together with pumice-stones, and black pieces of burning rock; they were likewise in danger, not only of being aground by the sudden retreat of the sea, but also from the vast fragments which rolled down from the mountains, and obstructed all the shore. Here he stopped to consider whether he should return back; to which the pilot advising him, "Fortune," said he, "befriends the brave; steer to Pomponianus." Pomponianus was then at Stabiæ,* separated by a gulf which the sea, after several insensible windings, forms upon that shore. Pomponianus had already sent his baggage on board; for though he was not at that time in actual danger, yet, being within the view of it, and, indeed, extremely near, he was determined, if it should in the least increase, to put to sea as soon as the wind should change. It was favorable, however, for carrying my uncle to Pomponianus, whom he found in the greatest consternation; and embracing him with tenderness, he encouraged and exhorted him to keep up his spirits. The more to dissipate his fears, he ordered his servants, with an air of unconcern, to carry him to the

Cinders fall into the ships.

Notwithstanding the perils, he rescues a friend.

* Now called Castel è Mar di Stabia, in the Gulf of Naples.

baths; and, after having bathed, he sat down to supper with great, or at least (what is equally heroic) with all the appearance of cheerfulness. In the meanwhile, the fire from Vesuvius flamed forth from several parts of the mountain with great violence: which the darkness of the night contributed to render still more visible and dreadful. But my uncle, in order to calm the apprehensions of his friend, assured him it was only the conflagration of the villages, which the country people had abandoned. After this he retired to rest, and it is most certain he was so little discomposed as to fall into a deep sleep; for being corpulent and breathing hard, the attendants in the antechamber actually heard him snore. The court which led to his apartment being now almost filled with stones and ashes, it would have been impossible for him, if he had continued there any longer, to have made his way out; it was thought proper, therefore, to awaken him. He got up, and joined Pomponianus and the rest of the company, who had not been sufficiently unconcerned to think of going to bed. They consulted together whether it would be most prudent to trust to the houses, which now shook from side to side with frequent and violent concussions, or flee to the open fields, where the calcined stones and cinders, though levigated indeed, yet fell in large showers, and threatened them with instant destruction. In this distress, they

Pliny goes calmly to the bath and supper.

The eruption forces flight.

resolved for the fields, as the less dangerous situation of the two; a resolution which, while the rest of the company were hurried into by their fears, my uncle embraced upon cool and deliberate consideration. They went out, then, having pillows tied about their heads with napkins; and this was their whole defence against the storm of stones that fell around them. It was now day everywhere else, but *there* a deeper darkness prevailed than in the blackest night; which, however, was in some degree dissipated by torches and other lights of various kinds. They thought it expedient to go down further upon the shore, in order to observe if they might safely put out to sea; but they found the waves still running high and boisterous. There my uncle, having drunk a draught or two of cold water, laid himself down upon a sail-cloth which was spread for him; when immediately the flames, preceded by a strong smell of sulphur, dispersed the rest of the company, and obliged him to rise. He raised himself up with the assistance of two of his servants, and instantly fell down dead; suffocated, I conjecture, by some gross and noxious vapor, as having always had weak lungs, and being frequently subject to a difficulty of breathing. As soon as it was light again, which was not till the third day after this melancholy accident, his body was found entire, and without any marks of violence, exactly in the same posture in

Extraordinary darkness.

Pliny is overcome by the noxious vapors.

which he fell, and looking more like a man asleep than dead. During all this time, my mother and I, who were at Misenum— But as this has no connection with your history, so your inquiry went no further than concerning my uncle's death; with that, therefore, I will put a end to my letter. Suffer me only to add that I have faithfully related to you what I was either an eye-witness of myself, or received immediately after the accident happened, and before there was time to vary the truth. You will choose out of this narrative such circumstances as shall be most suitable to your purpose; for there is a great difference between writing a letter and composing a history; between addressing a friend and addressing the public. Farewell.

His body is found on the third day.

The letter which, in compliance with your request, I wrote to you, concerning the death of my uncle, has raised, it seems, your curiosity to know what terrors and dangers attended me while I continued at Misenum; for there, I think, the account in my former broke off—

The younger Pliny continues his narrative.

"Though my shock'd soul recoils, my tongue shall tell." *

My uncle having left us, I continued the employment which prevented my going with him

* Virgil.

till it was time to bathe, after which I went to supper, and then fell into a short and unquiet sleep. There had been, during many days before, some shocks of an earthquake, which the less alarmed us, as they are frequent in Campania; but they were so particularly violent that night that they not only shook everything about us, but seemed, indeed, to threaten total destruction. My mother flew to my chamber, where she found me rising in order to awaken her. We went out into a small court belonging to the house, which separated the sea from the buildings. As I was at that time but eighteen years of age, I knew not whether I should call my behavior in this perilous conjuncture, courage or rashness; but I took up Livy, and amused myself with turning over that author, and even making extracts from him, as if I had been perfectly at my ease. While we were in this situation, a friend of my uncle's, who was just come from Spain to make him a visit, joined us, and observing me sitting by my mother with a book in my hand, reproved her patience and my security; nevertheless, I still went on with my author. It was now morning, but the light was exceedingly faint and languid; the buildings all around us tottered, and, though we stood upon open ground, yet, as the place was narrow and confined, there was no remaining without imminent danger; we therefore resolved to leave the town. The

Violent earthquake shocks.

people followed us in the utmost consternation, and (as to a mind distracted with terror, every suggestion seems more prudent than its own) pressed in great crowds about us in our way out. Being advanced at a convenient distance from the houses, we stood still, in the midst of a most hazardous and tremendous scene. The chariots which we had ordered to be drawn out were so agitated backward and forward, though upon the most level ground, that we could not keep them steady, even by supporting them with large stones. The sea seemed to roll back upon itself, and to be driven from its banks by the convulsive motion of the earth; it is certain, at least, the shore was considerably enlarged, and several sea-animals were left upon it. On the other side a black and dreadful cloud, bursting with an igneous serpentine vapor, darted out a long train of fire, resembling flashes of lightning, but much larger. Upon this, our Spanish friend, whom I mentioned above, addressing himself to my mother and me, with great warmth and earnestness: "If your brother and uncle," said he, "is safe, he certainly wishes you may be so too; but if he perished, it was his desire, no doubt, that you might both survive him. Why, therefore, do you delay your escape a moment?" We could never think of our own safety, we replied, while we were uncertain of his; upon which our friend left us, and withdrew from the danger with the

The terrors of sea and sky.

Pliny and his mother unwilling to flee.

utmost precipitation. Soon afterward the cloud seemed to descend and cover the whole ocean, as, indeed, it entirely hid the island of Caprea* and the promontory of Misenum. My mother conjured me to make my escape at any rate, which, as I was young, I might easily effect; as for herself, she said her age and corpulency rendered all attempts of that sort impossible; however, she would willingly meet death, if she could have the satisfaction of seeing that she was not the occasion of mine. But I absolutely refused to leave her, and, taking her by the hand, I led her on. She complied with great reluctance, and not without many reproaches to herself for being the occasion of retarding my flight. The ashes now began to fall upon us, though in no great quantity. I turned my head, and observed behind us a thick smoke, which came rolling after us like a torrent. I proposed, while we had yet any light, to turn out of the high road, lest she should be pressed to death in the dark by the crowd that followed us. We had scarcely stepped out of the path, when darkness overspread us, not like that of a cloudy night, or when there is no moon, but of a room when it is shut up, and all the lights extinct. Nothing, then, was to be heard but the shrieks of women, the screams of children, and the cries of men; some calling for their children, others for their parents, others for

Pliny and his mother escape.

* Now Capri.

their husbands, and only distinguishing each other by their voices; one lamenting his own fate, another that of his family; some wishing to die, from the very fear of dying; some lifting their hands to the gods; but the greater part imagining that the last and eternal night was come, which was to destroy both the gods and the world together. Among these there were some who augmented the real terrors by imaginary ones, and made the frighted multitude falsely believe that Misenum was actually in flames. At length, a glimmering light appeared, which we imagined to be rather the forerunner of an approaching burst of flames (as in fact it was) than the return of day; however, the fire fell at a distance from us. Then again we were immersed in thick darkness, and a heavy shower of ashes rained upon us, which we were obliged every now and then to shake off, otherwise we should have been overwhelmed and buried in the heap. I might boast that, during all this scene of horror, not a sigh or expression of fear escaped from me, had not my support been founded on that miserable, though strong, consolation, that all mankind were involved in the same calamity, and that I imagined I was perishing with the world itself. At last this terrible darkness was dissipated by degrees, like a cloud of smoke; the real day returned, and even the sun appeared, though very faintly, and as when an eclipse

The frightful darkness and consternation.

The day dawns at last.

is coming on. Every object that presented itself to our eyes (which were extremely weakened) seemed changed, being covered with ashes as with a deep snow. We returned to Misenum, where we refreshed ourselves as well as we could, and passed an anxious night between hope and fear; though, indeed, with a much larger share of the latter; for the earth still continued to shake, while several enthusiastic persons ran wildly among the people, throwing out terrifying predictions, and making a kind of frantic sport of their own and their friends' wretched situation. However, my mother and I, notwithstanding the danger we had passed, and that which still threatened us, had no intention of leaving Misenum till we should receive some account of my uncle.

Pliny and his mother return to Misenum.

[In 81, Domitian succeeds his brother, Titus, and, in 96, is assassinated. Trajan wages war against the Dacians (101-107), and Dacia (Wallachia, Moldavia, Eastern Hungary and Transylvania) is made a Roman province. In 113, Trajan's Column is completed at Rome. Trajan conquers the Parthians in 116, and dies in Cilicia. A bitter war, between Rome and a great confederacy of the German nations, lasts from 167 to 176, when Marcus Antoninus finally defeats them. Civil wars distract the empire from 192 to 197. Severus becomes emperor in 193 and relaxes military discipline. On his death, in 211, military insur-

Trajan wages war.

rections, civil wars and assassinations of the emperors recommence. In 226, Artaxerxes overthrows the Parthian kingdom, restores Persian royalty and attacks the Roman possessions in the East. The Goths invade the empire in 250, and the Emperor Decius is defeated and slain. For the next ten years, the Franks and Alemanni invade Gaul, Spain and Africa; the Goths attack Asia Minor and Greece; the Persians conquer Armenia and defeat and capture the Emperor Valerian. The succeeding emperors, Gallienus, Claudius and Aurelian, meet with some success against the barbarians. Aurelian (270-275) makes peace with the Goths by sacrificing Dacia. His many successes against the barbarians gain for him the title, "Restorer of the Universal Empire." One of his most brilliant campaigns was that against Palmyra.]

Aurelian's successes.

FALL OF ZENOBIA AND PALMYRA

(A.D. 273)

EDWARD GIBBON

AURELIAN had no sooner secured the person and provinces of Tetricus, than he turned his arms against Zenobia, the celebrated queen of Palmyra and the East. Modern Europe has produced several illustrious women who have sustained with glory the weight of empire; nor is our own age destitute of such distinguished characters. But if we except the doubtful achievements of Semiramis, Zenobia is perhaps the only female whose superior genius broke through the servile indolence imposed on her sex by the climate and manners of Asia. She claimed her descent from the Macedonian kings of Egypt, equalled in beauty her ancestor, Cleopatra, and far surpassed that princess in chastity and valor. Zenobia was esteemed the most lovely, as well as the most heroic, of her sex. She was of a dark complexion (for, in speaking of a lady, these trifles become important). Her teeth were of a pearly whiteness, and her large black eyes sparkled with uncommon fire,

Character of Zenobia, A.D. 272.

Her beauty and learning.

tempered by the most attractive sweetness. Her voice was strong and harmonious. Her manly understanding was strengthened and adorned by study. She was not ignorant of the Latin tongue, but possessed in equal perfection the Greek, the Syriac, and the Egyptian languages. She had drawn up for her own use an epitome of oriental history, and familiarly compared the beauties of Homer and Plato under the tuition of the sublime Longinus.

This accomplished woman gave her hand to Odenathus, who, from a private station, raised himself to the dominion of the East. She soon became the friend and companion of a hero. In the intervals of war, Odenathus passionately delighted in the exercise of hunting; he pursued with ardor the wild beasts of the desert, lions, panthers, and bears; and the ardor of Zenobia in that dangerous amusement was not inferior to his own. She had inured her constitution to fatigue, disdained the use of a covered carriage, generally appeared on horseback in a military habit, and sometimes marched several miles on foot at the head of the troops. The success of Odenathus was, in a great measure, ascribed to her incomparable prudence and fortitude. Their splendid victories over the great king, whom they twice pursued as far as the gates of Ctesiphon, laid the foundations of their united fame and power. The armies which they com-

Her valor.

manded, and the provinces which they had saved, acknowledged not any other sovereigns than their invincible chiefs. The Senate and people of Rome revered a stranger who had avenged their captive emperor, and even the insensible son of Valerian accepted Odenathus for his legitimate colleague.

After a successful expedition against the Gothic plunderers of Asia, the Palmyrenian prince returned to the city of Emesa in Syria. Invincible in war, he was there cut off by treason.

She reigns over the East and Egypt.

With the assistance of his most faithful friends, Zenobia immediately filled the vacant throne, and governed with manly counsels Palmyra, Syria, and the East, above five years. By the death of Odenathus, that authority was at an end which the Senate had granted him only as a personal distinction; but his martial widow, disdaining both the Senate and Gallienus, obliged one of the Roman generals, who was sent against her, to retreat into Europe, with the loss of his army and his reputation. Instead of the little passions which so frequently perplex a female reign, the steady administration of Zenobia was guided by the most judicious maxims of policy. If it was expedient to pardon, she could calm her resentment; if it was necessary to punish, she could impose silence on the voice of pity. Her strict economy was accused of avarice; yet on every proper occasion she appeared

magnificent and liberal. The neighboring states of Arabia, Armenia, and Persia, dreaded her enmity, and solicited her alliance. To the dominions of Odenathus, which extended from the Euphrates to the frontiers of Bithynia, his widow added the inheritance of her ancestors, the populous and fertile kingdom of Egypt. The Emperor Claudius acknowledged her merit, and was content, that, while *he* pursued the Gothic war, *she* should assert the dignity of the empire in the East. The conduct, however, of Zenobia was attended with some ambiguity; nor is it unlikely that she had conceived the design of erecting an independent and hostile monarchy. She blended with the popular manners of Roman princes the stately pomp of the courts of Asia, and exacted from her subjects the same adoration that was paid to the successors of Cyrus. She bestowed on her three sons a Latin education, and often showed them to the troops adorned with the imperial purple. For herself she reserved the diadem, with the splendid but doubtful title of Queen of the East.

Her designs.

When Aurelian passed over into Asia, against an adversary whose sex alone could render her an object of contempt, his presence restored obedience to the province of Bithynia, already shaken by the arms and intrigues of Zenobia. Advancing at the head of his legions, he accepted the submission of Ancyra, and was admitted into Tyana, after an obsti-

The expedition of Aurelian, A.D. 272.

nate siege, by the help of a perfidious citizen. Antioch was deserted on his approach, till the emperor, by his salutary edicts, recalled the fugitives, and granted a general pardon to all who, from necessity rather than choice, had been engaged in the service of the Palmyrenian queen. The unexpected mildness of such a conduct reconciled the minds of the Syrians, and, as far as the gates of Emesa, the wishes of the people seconded the terror of his arms.

He defeats the Palmyrenians in the battles of Antioch and Emesa.

Zenobia would have ill deserved her reputation, had she indolently permitted the Emperor of the West to approach within a hundred miles of her capital. The fate of the East was decided in two great battles. In both, the Queen of Palmyra animated the armies by her presence, and devolved the execution of her orders on Zabdas, who had already signalized his military talents by the conquest of Egypt. After the defeat of Emesa, Zenobia found it impossible to collect a third army. As far as the frontier of Egypt, the nations subject to her empire had joined the standard of the conqueror, who detached Probus, the bravest of his generals, to possess himself of the Egyptian provinces. Palmyra was the last resource of the widow of Odenathus. She retired within the walls of her capital, made every preparation for a vigorous resistance, and declared, with the intrepidity of a heroine, that the last moment of her reign and of her life should be the same.

In his march over the sandy desert between Emesa and Palmyra, the Emperor Aurelian was perpetually harassed by the Arabs; nor could he always defend his army, and especially his baggage, from those flying troops of active and daring robbers, who watched the moment of surprise, and eluded the slow pursuit of the legions. The siege of Palmyra was an object far more difficult and important, and the emperor, who with incessant vigor pressed the attack in person, was himself wounded with a dart. "The Roman people," says Aurelian, in an original letter, "speak with contempt of the war which I am waging against a woman. They are ignorant both of the character and of the power of Zenobia. It is impossible to enumerate her warlike preparations, of stones, of arrows, and of every species of missile weapons. Every part of the walls is provided with two or three *balistae,* and artificial fires are thrown from her military engines. The fear of punishment has armed her with a desperate courage. Yet still I trust in the protecting deities of Rome, who have hitherto been favorable to all my undertakings."

Palmyra besieged by Aurelian.

Doubtful, however, of the protection of the gods, and of the event of the siege, Aurelian judged it more prudent to offer terms of an advantageous capitulation; to the queen, a splendid retreat; to the citizens, their ancient privileges. His proposals were obsti-

nately rejected, and the refusal was accompanied with insult.

The firmness of Zenobia was supported by the hope that, in a very short time, famine would compel the Roman army to repass the desert; and by the reasonable expectation that the kings of the East, and particularly the Persian monarch, would arm in the defence of their most natural ally. But fortune and the perseverance of Aurelian overcame every obstacle. The death of Sapor, which happened about this time, distracted the councils of Persia, and the inconsiderable succors that attempted to relieve Palmyra, were easily intercepted either by the arms or the liberality of the emperor. From every part of Syria, a regular succession of convoys safely arrived in the camp, which was increased by the return of Probus with his victorious troops from the conquest of Egypt. It was then that Zenobia resolved to fly. She mounted the fleetest of her dromedaries, and had already reached the banks of the Euphrates, about sixty miles from Palmyra, when she was overtaken by the pursuit of Aurelian's light horse, seized, and brought back a captive to the feet of the emperor. Her capital soon afterward surrendered, and was treated with unexpected lenity. The arms, horses, and camels, with an immense treasure of gold, silver, silk, and precious stones, were all delivered to the conqueror, who, leaving only a garrison of six

Aurelian becomes master of Zenobia and of the city.

His lenity.

hundred archers, returned to Emesa, and employed some time in the distribution of rewards and punishments at the end of so memorable a war, which restored to the obedience of Rome those provinces that had renounced their allegiance since the captivity of Valerian.

Renewed rebellion of Palmyra.

Returning from the conquest of the East, Aurelian had already crossed the straits which divide Europe from Asia, when he was provoked by the intelligence that the Palmyrenians had massacred the governor and garrison which he had left among them, and again erected the standard of revolt. Without a moment's deliberation, he once more turned his face toward Syria. Antioch was alarmed by his rapid approach, and the helpless city of Palmyra felt the irresistible weight of his resentment. We have a letter of Aurelian himself, in which he acknowledges that old men, women, children, and peasants had been involved in that dreadful execution, which should have been confined to armed rebellion; and although his principal concern seems directed to the re-establishment of a temple of the sun, he discovers some pity for the remnant of the Palmyrenians, to whom he grants the permission of rebuilding and inhabiting their city. But it is easier to destroy than to restore. The seat of commerce, of arts, and of Zenobia, gradually sunk into an obscure town, a trifling fortress, and at length a miserable village.

Palmyra sinks into obscurity.

Since the foundation of Rome, no general had more nobly deserved a triumph than Aurelian; nor was a triumph ever celebrated with superior pride and magnificence. The pomp was opened by twenty elephants, four royal tigers, and above two hundred of the most curious animals from every climate of the north, the east, and the south. They were followed by sixteen hundred gladiators, devoted to the cruel amusement of the amphitheatre. The wealth of Asia, the arms and ensigns of so many conquered nations, and the magnificent plate and wardrobe of the Syrian queen, were disposed in exact symmetry or artful disorder. The ambassadors of the most remote parts of the earth, of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, Bactriana, India, and China, all remarkable by their rich or singular dresses, displayed the fame and power of the Roman emperor, who exposed likewise to the public view the presents that he had received, and particularly a great number of crowns of gold, the offerings of grateful cities. The victories of Aurelian were attested by the long train of captives who reluctantly attended his triumph, Goths, Vandals, Sarmatians, Alemanni, Franks, Gauls, Syrians, and Egyptians. Each people was distinguished by its peculiar inscription, and the title of Amazons was bestowed on ten martial heroines of the Gothic nation who had been taken in arms. But every eye, disregarding the crowd of captives,

Triumph of Aurelian.

Various captives.

was fixed on the Emperor Tetricus, and the Queen of the East. The former, as well as his son, whom he had created Augustus, was dressed in Gallic trousers, a saffron tunic, and robe of purple. The beauteous figure of Zenobia was confined by fetters of gold; a slave supported the gold chain which encircled her neck, and she almost fainted under the intolerable weight of jewels. She preceded on foot the magnificent chariot in which she once hoped to enter the gates of Rome. It was followed by two other chariots, still more sumptuous, of Odenathus and of the Persian monarch. The triumphal car of Aurelian (it had formerly been used by a Gothic king) was drawn, on this memorable occasion, either by four stags or by four elephants. The most illustrious of the Senate, the people, and the army, closed the solemn procession.

Zenobia led a captive in Aurelian's triumph.

[Diocletian divides and reorganizes the empire in 285. After his abdication, in 305, there is a period of renewed confusion and civil war. The empire is reunited by Constantine, the first Christian emperor, in 324. Six years later he removes the seat of government to Byzantium, where he founds a new city.]

THE FOUNDING OF CONSTANTINOPLE

(A.D. 330)

WILLIAM FRANCIS COLLIER

THE reign of Constantine is remarkable in Roman history for three reasons: he was the first emperor professing Christianity; he adopted a new policy, in which we can detect some foreshadows of the speedy decay of the Western Empire; he founded a new capital, thus giving a powerful impulse to that separation of the Empire into East and West, which began under Diocletian in 286, and was completed in 364, when the brothers Valens and Valentinian wore the purple.

Birth of Constantine, A.D. 274

Constantine the Great was born at Naissus in Dacia; some say at Drepanum in Bithynia. His father was Constantius Chlorus (the Sallow), who ruled Gaul, Britain, and Spain; his mother Helena was the daughter of an innkeeper.

The mother being divorced, the son, who shared her fall, was left at eighteen with little fortune but his sword. Taking service under Diocletian, he fought his way up in Egyptian and Persian wars to be a tribune of the first rank; and so popular did the brave youth be-

come with the soldiers that Galerius, Emperor of the East, began to look upon him with a jealous eye. Just then came word that Constantius, whose health was failing, wished to see his long-estranged son. Setting out at night from Nicomedia, Constantine hurried overland to join his father at Boulogne. Together they crossed to Britain, where soon afterward the father died at York.

Constantine, at once proclaimed emperor by the soldiers of the West, wrote, announcing the event, to Galerius, who in answer acknowledged him as his father's successor, but conferred on him only the title of *Caesar,* reserving the higher step *Augustus* for a favorite friend. This, no doubt, galled Constantine at the moment; but, like a man of prudence, he was content to bide his time.

Proclaimed emperor.

Two years later the world saw a strange sight, without parallel before or since—six emperors dividing the Roman dominion among them. In the West were Maximian, his son Maxentius, and Constantine; in the East Galerius, Licinius, and Maximin. Maximian, once the colleague of Diocletian, had already bestowed on Constantine the hand of his daughter Fausta, and the title of Augustus.

Six emperors at once, A.D. 308.

But among six emperors there could be little union. Every man's hand was soon turned against his fellow. The first to die was old Maximian, who, falling into the hands of his son-in-law at Marseilles, was there slain in se-

cret. The death of Galerius, from disease caused by intemperance, reduced the list still further. And then Constantine, with a sword sharpened by six years' successful war in Gaul, crossed the Alps to do battle with the effeminate Maxentius. Susa, at the foot of Mount Cenis, was stormed in a single day. Forty miles further on, at Turin, he scattered an army strong in mail-clad cavalry. Milan and Verona then fell; and the way to Rome was open.

Battle of the Red Rocks, A.D. 312.

At the Red Rocks (Saxa Rubra), nine miles from Rome, he found the army of Maxentius in line of battle, the Tiber guarding their rear. Constantine led on his Gallic horse, and made short work of the unwieldy masses of cavalry that covered his rival's flanks. The Italian footmen of the centre then fled almost without striking a blow. Thousands were driven into the Tiber. The brave Pretorians, despairing of mercy, died in heaps where they stood. A bridge near the modern Ponte Milvio was so choked with the flying soldiers that Maxentius, in trying to struggle through the crowd, was pushed into the water, and drowned by his weighty armor.

Vision of the cross, A.D. 313.

Writers of the time tell us that, before this battle, Constantine saw the vision of a cross hung in the sky, with the Greek words, Ἐν τούτῳ νίκα ("In this conquer"), written in letters of light. Henceforth his troops marched under a standard called Labarum, the top of which

was adorned with a mystic X, representing at once the cross and the initial letter of the Greek word Christ.

Entering Rome in triumph, he began at once to secure his victory. The Pretorian guards were disbanded, and scattered forever. The tax, which Maxentius had occasionally levied on the senate under the name of a free gift, was made lasting. Three of the six emperors now remained. But, war soon breaking out between Maximin and Licinius, the former was defeated near Heraclea, and died in a few months at Tarsus, most likely by poison. Two emperors then shared the power between them; Constantine holding the West and Licinius the East. A.D. 313.

A quarrel soon arose, as might be expected from the nature of the men—Constantine, pushing, clever, and by no means troubled with a tender conscience; Licinius, underhand, artful, dangerous. It made no matter that the sister of Constantine was the wife of Licinius. War was begun. At Cibalis in Pannonia, and on the plain of Mardia in Thrace, Constantine was victorious; and the beaten emperor was compelled to yield as the price of peace all his European dominions except Thrace.

There was then peace between the rivals for nearly eight years, during which the most notable event was a war with the Goths and Sarmatians (322). They had long been mus- Invasion of Goths and Sarmatians.

tering on the north bank of the Danube, and now poured their swarms upon Illyricum. But they had to deal with a resolute soldier, who drove them with hard and heavy blows back over the broad stream, and followed them into their strongest holds.

Then, in the flush of victory, he turned his sword again upon Licinius. At once all Thrace glittered with arms, and the Hellespont was white with sails. A victory, gained by Constantine at Adrianople, drove the Emperor of the East into Byzantium. Besieged there, he held out a while; but, the passage of the Hellespont being forced by Crispus, Constantine's eldest son, who led a few small ships to attack a great fleet of three-deckers, he was forced into Asia, where he was finally vanquished on the hills of Chrysopolis, now Scutari. In spite of his wife's prayers and tears, he was executed a few months later at Thessalonica, when his death left Constantine sole master of the Roman world.

Death of Licinius A.D. 324.

This emperor, influenced perhaps by his mother's early teaching, favored Christianity. He did not openly forbid Paganism, but chose rather to work by ridicule and neglect. Some rites he abolished, and some temples he closed, but only those notorious for fraud or indecency. Without depressing Paganism, he raised the new creed to the level of the old. With public money he repaired the old

churches and built new ones, so that in every great city the Pagan temples were faced by Christian churches of architecture richer and more beautiful than ever. The Christian clergy were freed from taxes. Sunday was proclaimed a day of rest. And, to crown all, he removed the seat of government to a new capital, which was essentially a Christian city, for nowhere did a Pagan temple blot the streets, shining with the white marble of Proconnesus.

First General Council in A.D. 325.

In the controversies of the Church the emperor took an active but changeable part, and attended in person the first general council of bishops, held at Nicea, in Bithynia, to decide on the case of Arius, who denied the divinity of Christ. Arius was banished; but, three years afterward, Constantine, who regarded the whole question as one of slight importance, restored him to his church at Alexandria.

Site of the new capital.

The spot where Byzantium had already stood for more than 900 years was chosen as the site of the new capital. While besieging Licinius there, Constantine saw how from that central position a strong hand, wielding the sceptre of the world, could strike east or west with equal suddenness and force. At the southern end of the Bosphorus a promontory of the Thracian shore—washed on the south by the Sea of Marmora (then called Propontis), and on the north by the fine harbor of the

Golden Horn—runs to within 600 yards of Asia. Seven hills rise there; and on these the city lay, commanding at once two great continents and two great inland seas.

It commands two continents.

The emperor, spear in hand, heading a long line of nobles, marked out the boundary of the wall. As mile after mile went by, all wondered at the growing space; yet he still went on. "I shall advance," said he, "till the invisible guide who marches before me thinks right to stop."

Gold without stint was lavished on the new buildings. Bronzes and marbles, wrought by the chisels of Phidias and Lysippus, were stolen from Greece and Asia to adorn the public walks. When those senators, whom the gifts and invitations of the emperor had induced to remove from Rome, reached the shores of the Bosphorus, they found waiting to receive them palaces built exactly after the model of those they had left behind. On the day of dedication the city received the name of New Rome; but this title was soon exchanged for that borne ever since—Constantinople. One result of this great change, which reduced Rome to a second-rate city, was to concentrate for a time, in the old capital, more intensely than ever, all the bitterness of Paganism. The new capital soon became the centre of a separate empire, which survived the old for nearly a thousand years.

Its dedication, May 11, A.D. 330.

The new policy of Constantine was marked

by three chief features. 1. He scattered titles of nobility with an unsparing hand, so that there was no end of "Illustrious," "Respectable," "Most Honorable," "Most Perfect," "Egregious," men about the court. The Asiatic fashion of piling up adjectives and nouns to make swelling names of honor became all the rage; and on every side was heard, "Your Gravity," or "Your Sincerity," or "Your Sublime and Wonderful Magnitude." 2. He laid direct and heavier taxes upon the people. Forty millions were poured into his treasury every year. These taxes, paid chiefly in gold, but also in kind, were collected by the Curials, men high in the magistracy of the towns; and if there was any deficiency, they were compelled to make it up out of their own property. 3. In the army great and fatal changes were made. The military service was separated from the civil government, and placed under the direction of eight Masters-General. The famous legions were broken up into small bands. Numbers of Goths and other barbarians were enlisted in the Roman service, and taught to use arms, which they afterward turned upon their masters. And a distinction was made between the troops of the court and the troops of the frontier. The latter, bearing all the hard blows, received but scanty rewards; while the former, rejoicing in high pay, and living in cities among baths and theatres, speedily lost all courage and skill.

Constantine's new policy.

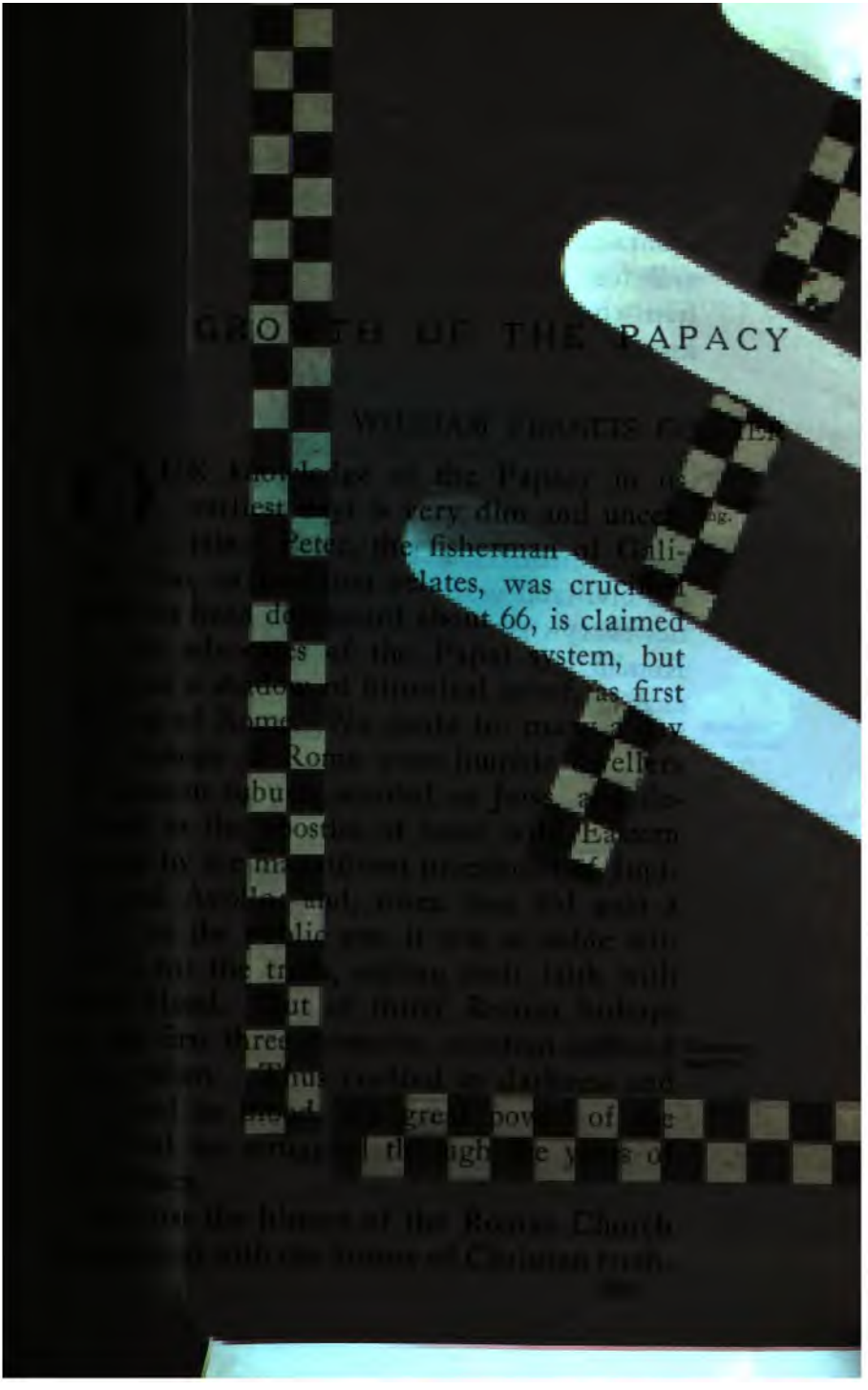
The legions broken up.

The last years of Constantine were occupied with a successful war against the Goths, undertaken in aid of the Sarmatians. Three hundred thousand of the latter nation were settled under Roman protection in Thrace and Macedonia, no doubt to serve as a rampart against the encroachments of other tribes.

Constantine died at Nicomedia, aged sixty-four. He is said to have been baptized on his death-bed by an Arian bishop. According to his own last request, his body was carried over to Constantinople; and, while it lay there on a golden bed, a poor mockery of kingship, crowned and robed in purple, every day, at the usual hour of levee, the great officers of state came to bow before the lifeless clay.

Death and character of Constantine.

When we strip away the tinsel with which Eusebius and similar writers have decked the character of this man, we are forced to believe that there was little grand or heroic about him except his military skill. He slew his father-in-law; and, in later days, meanly jealous of justly-won laurels, he hurried his eldest son, the gallant young Crispus, from a gay feast in Rome to die by a secret and sudden death. Many of his strokes of policy were terrible blunders, full of future ruin; and his boasted profession of Christianity seems to have been scarcely better than a mere pretence, made to serve the aims of an unresting and unscrupulous ambition.



But unhappily there came a time when streams of poison began to flow from the once pure fountain.

Before the close of the First Century Christian churches were scattered over all the known world. These were at first essentially Greek in their language, their Scriptures, and their forms of worship. It was in Africa—

Tertullian. where, about 200, flourished Tertullian, first of the great Fathers who wrote in Latin—that Latin Christianity may be said to have had its birth. But Rome being the centre of the civilized world, the Christian communities everywhere began naturally to look to the Roman bishop as a leader in the Church.

Council of Sardica. A great step in this direction was taken, when at the Council of Sardica in 343 the right of appeal to the Bishop of Rome was, though at first probably only a temporary expedient, formally conceded. In the time of Damasus the bishopric had become a prize worth contesting, and blood flowed freely during the election. Year after year consolidated and extended the power of this central see, although a powerful rival had sprung up on the Bosphorus.

Three great founders of Papacy. Innocent I., Leo I., and Gregory the Great, were the three great founders of the Papacy.

While Honorius was disgracing the name

Innocent I. of emperor, Innocent began his pontificate. It was soon clear from his letters to the bishops in the West that he was bent on claiming for

the see of Rome a complete supremacy in all matters of discipline and usage. In the midst of his efforts to secure this end, a terrible event occurred, which had the effect of investing him with a grandeur unknown to his predecessors. Alaric and his Goths besieged Rome. Honorius was trembling amid the swamps of Ravenna; but Innocent was within the walls of the capital; and, deserted by her emperor, Rome centred all hope in her bishop. A ransom bought off the enemy for a while; and, when, soon after, the great disaster of wreck and pillage fell upon the city, Innocent was absent in Ravenna, striving to stir the coward emperor to some show of manliness. He returned to evoke from the black ashes of Pagan Rome the temples of a Christian city. Thenceforward the pope was the greatest man in Rome.

The heresy of Pelagius.

In the latter days of Innocent the great heresy of Pelagius began to agitate the West. This man was a Briton, who passed through Rome, Africa, and Palestine, preaching that there was no original sin; that men, having perfect free-will, could keep all divine commands, by the power of nature, unaided by grace. These doctrines were combated by Augustine, Bishop of Hippo in Africa, one of the great Fathers of the Church, whose opinions soon became the standard of orthodoxy throughout the West. Innocent, leaning toward Augustine, declared Pelagius a heretic,

but death prevented him from doing more. By Zozimus, the next pope, Pelagius was banished, and of his end nothing is known.

Leo I., A.D. 440-461.

Leo I., a Roman by birth, was unanimously raised to the popedom in 440. Distinguished for his stern dealings with heretics, and his energetic efforts to extend the spiritual dominion of Rome, he yet, like Innocent I., owes his great place in history to the bold front he twice showed to the barbarians menacing Rome. The savage Attila was turned away by his majestic remonstrance; and, although his intercession with Genseric the Vandal, three years later, had less avail, it yet broke the force of the blow that fell on the hapless city.

Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine.

While the Papacy was thus laying the deep foundations of its authority, a host of active intellects were busy molding its doctrines and discipline into shape. Chief among these were Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine. Jerome, the secretary of Pope Damasus, and afterward a monk of Bethlehem, gave the first great impulse to that monastic system which has been so powerful an agent in spreading the doctrines of Popery. Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan, vindicated the authority of the priesthood even over emperors and kings, by condemning Theodosius I. to a long and weary penance for his massacre of the Thessalonians. Augustine, already noticed, is justly called the Father of the Latin Theology.

It must not be forgotten that the barbarians, who overthrew the Roman Empire, had already, with few exceptions, been converted to Christianity. The Goths were the first to receive the gospel; other tribes followed in quick succession, for the Teutonic character had, even in its barbaric phase, a groundwork of deep thoughtfulness, which secured a ready acceptance for Christianity. And when the barbaric flood had swept away every vestige of Roman temporal power, the Papacy, cherished by that very destroying power, continued to grow, gathering every year new strength and life,—a new Rome rising from the ashes of the old, far mightier than the vanished empire, for it claimed dominion over the spirits of men. In Gregory the Great, who became pope in 590, we behold the third great founder of the Papacy, and the fourth of the great Fathers of Latin Christianity. He it was, who, while yet a humble monk of St. Andrew, being struck with the beauty of some English boys in the Roman slave market, formed the design of sending a mission to Britain; and some years afterward despatched Augustine to these shores. All the West felt his energy. Spain, Africa, and Britain, were brought within the pale of the Church, while Jews and heretics were treated with mild toleration. A notable fact of this pontificate was Gregory's letter to John, Patriarch of Constantinople, who openly claimed

Conversion of the barbarians.

Gregory I., A.D. 590-604.

the title of Universal Bishop. Gregory branded it as a blasphemous name, once applied, in honor of St. Peter, by the Council of Chalcedon to the Roman Bishop, but by all succeeding pontiffs rejected as injurious to the rest of the priesthood. War with the Lombards filled Gregory's hands with troubles; but in no long time these fierce warriors felt a power, against which their swords were worthless, casting its spells over them. In the days of Gregory they were converted from being heathens, or at best reckless Arians, to orthodox Christianity. He died in 604, leaving a name, as priest, ruler, and writer, second to none in the long roll of popes.

Conversion of the Lombards.

One hundred and fifty years later, when Pepin the Short made Pope Stephen II. a present of the Exarchate and Pentapolis in North Italy, the temporal power of the popes began.

[The Emperor Julian is killed in battle with the Persians in 363. In the following year, the Empire is again divided; Valentinian taking the West and Valens the East. Valentinian drives the Alemanni and other German invaders from Gaul. In 367, Valens professes Arianism and persecutes the Catholics. In 370, Valentinian restrains the avarice of the clergy. In 375, the Huns attack the Goths, who beg for Roman protection. They are allowed to cross the Danube and settle in the Roman provinces, but a war soon breaks out

A.D. 363-375.

between them and the Romans, and they destroy the Emperor Valens and his army, and ravage the Roman territories. The Emperor Theodosius reduces them to submission in 382. A.D. 382-452. In 386, the Ostrogoths also invade the Empire, but are defeated. They settle in Thrace and in Asia from 383 to 395. In 380, Arianism is destroyed in Constantinople, Theodosius issuing edicts against the heretics. In 395, the Empire is finally divided between the two sons of Theodosius. The Goths revolt, and, under Alaric, attack both the Roman Empires. In 410, Alaric penetrates into Italy and sacks Rome. The Roman garrison is withdrawn from Britain to repel the attacks of the barbarians. The Goths march into Gaul in 412, and in 414 into Spain, which had already been invaded by hosts of Vandals, Suevi, Alani, and other Germanic nations. Genseric, the Vandal king, conquers the Roman province of north Africa. The Huns attack the Eastern Empire in 441, and ravage Europe as far as Constantinople. The Romans conspire against the life of Attila, king of the Huns, but he reprimands and forgives the emperor. He threatens both Empires, and demands the Princess Honoria in marriage. He invades Gaul and besieges Orleans in 451. In the great battle of Châlons, Theodoric, the king of the Visigoths, is killed, but the Huns suffer so severely that they retreat. In 452, Atilla invades Italy.]

INVASION OF ITALY BY ATTILA—FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE—DESTRUCTION OF ATTILA'S EMPIRE

(A.D. 452–453)

EDWARD GIBBON

NEITHER the spirit nor the forces nor the reputation of Attila were impaired by the failure of the Gallic expedition. In the ensuing spring, he repeated his demand of the Princess Honoria and her patrimonial treasures. The demand was again rejected, or eluded; and the indignant lover immediately took the field, passed the Alps, invaded Italy, and besieged Aquileia with an innumerable host of Barbarians. Those Barbarians were unskilled in methods of conducting a regular siege, which, even among the ancients, required some knowledge, or at least some practice of the mechanic arts. But the labor of many thousand provincials and captives, whose lives were sacrificed without pity, might execute the most painful and dangerous work. The skill of the Roman artists might be corrupted to the destruction of their country. The walls of Aquileia were as-

Attila invades Italy, A.D. 452.

saulted by a formidable train of battering-rams, movable turrets, and engines, that threw stones, darts, and fire; and the monarch of the Huns employed the forcible impulse of hope, fear, emulation, and interest to subvert the only barrier which delayed the conquest of Italy. Aquileia was at that period one of the richest, the most populous and the strongest of the maritime cities of the Hadriatic coast. The Gothic auxiliaries, who appear to have served under their native princes Alaric and Antala, communicated their intrepid spirit; and the citizens still remembered their glorious and successful resistance, which their ancestors had opposed to a fierce, inexorable barbarian, who disgraced the majesty of the Roman purple. Three months were consumed without effect in the siege of Aquileia; till the want of provisions, and the clamors of his army, compelled Attila to relinquish the enterprise, and reluctantly to issue his orders that the troops should strike their tents the next morning and begin their retreat. But, as he rode round the walls, pensive, angry, and disappointed, he observed a stork preparing to leave her nest, in one of the towers, and to fly with her infant family toward the country. He seized, with the ready penetration of a statesman, this trifling incident, which chance had offered to superstition; and exclaimed, in a loud and cheerful tone, that such a domestic bird, so constantly attached to hu-

Siege of Aquileia.

man society, would never have abandoned her ancient seats, unless those towers had been devoted to impending ruin and solitude. The favorable omen inspired an assurance of victory; the siege was renewed, and prosecuted with fresh vigor; a large breach was made in the part of the wall from whence the stork had taken her flight; the Huns mounted to the assault with irresistible fury; and the succeeding generation could scarcely discover the ruins of Aquileia. After this dreadful chastisement, Attila pursued his march; and, as he passed, the cities of Altinum, Concordia, and Padua were reduced into heaps of stones and ashes. The inland towns Vicenza, Verona, and Bergamo were exposed to the rapacious cruelty of the Huns. Milan and Pavia submitted, without resistance, to the loss of wealth; and applauded the unusual clemency which preserved from the flames the public, as well as private, buildings; and spared the lives of the captive multitude. The popular traditions of Comum, Turin or Modena may justly be suspected; yet they concur with more authentic evidence to prove that Attila spread his ravages over the rich plains of modern Lombardy: which are divided by the Po, and bounded by the Alps and Apennines. When he took possession of the royal palace of Milan, he was surprised, and offended, at the sight of a picture, which represented the Cæsars seated on their throne and the princes of

Attila determines to renew the siege.

Attila's triumphant march.

Scythia prostrate at their feet. The revenge which Attila inflicted on this monument of Roman vanity was harmless and ingenious. He commanded a painter to reverse the figures and the attitudes; and the emperors were delineated on the same canvas, approaching in a suppliant posture to empty their bags of tributary gold before the throne of the Scythian monarch. The spectators must have confessed the truth and propriety of this alteration; and were perhaps tempted to apply, on this singular occasion, the well-known fable of the dispute between the lion and the man. Attila at Milan.

It is a saying worthy of the ferocious pride of Attila, that the grass never grew on the spot where his horse had trod. Yet the savage destroyer undesignedly laid the foundations of a republic which revived, in the feudal state of Europe, the art and spirit of commercial industry. The celebrated name of Venice, or Venezia, was formerly diffused over a large and fertile province of Italy, from the confines of Pannonia to the river Addua, and from the Po to the Rhetian and Julian Alps. Before the irruption of the Barbarians, fifty Venetian cities flourished in peace and prosperity; Aquileia was placed in the most conspicuous station; but the ancient dignity of Padua was supported by agriculture and manufactures; and the property of five hundred citizens, who were entitled to the equestrian rank, must have amounted, at the strictest computation, to Foundation of the Republic of Venice.

one million seven hundred thousand pounds. Many families of Aquileia, Padua, and the adjacent towns, who fled from the sword of the Huns, found a safe, though obscure, refuge in the neighboring islands. At the extremity of the Gulf, where the Hadriatic feebly imitates the tides of the ocean, near a hundred small islands are separated by shallow water from the continent, and protected from the waves by several long slips of land, which admit the entrance of vessels through some secret and narrow channels. Till the middle of the Fifth Century, these remote and sequestered spots remained without cultivation, with few inhabitants, and almost without a name. But the manners of the Venetian fugitives, their arts and their government, were gradually formed by their new situation; and one of the epistles of Cassiodorius, which describes their condition about seventy years afterward, may be considered as the primitive monument of the republic.

Wealth of the citizens.

The Italians, who had long since renounced the exercise of arms, were surprised, after forty years' peace, by the approach of a formidable Barbarian, whom they abhorred, as the enemy of their religion as well as of their republic. Amid the general consternation, Aetius alone was incapable of fear; but it was impossible that he should achieve, alone and unassisted, any military exploits worthy of his former renown. The Barba-

Aetius alone retards the march of the Huns.

rians who had defended Gaul refused to march to the relief of Italy; and the succors promised by the Eastern emperor were distant and doubtful. Since Aetius, at the head of his domestic troops, still maintained the field, and harassed or retarded the march of Attila, he never showed himself more truly great than at the time when his conduct was blamed by an ignorant and ungrateful people. If the mind of Valentinian had been susceptible of any generous sentiments, he would have chosen such a general for his example and his guide. But the timid grandson of Theodosius, instead of sharing the dangers, escaped from the sound of war; and his hasty retreat from Ravenna to Rome, from an impregnable fortress to an open capital, betrayed his secret intention of abandoning Italy as soon as the danger should approach his imperial person. This shameful abdication was suspended, however, by the spirit of doubt and delay, which commonly adheres to pusillanimous counsels, and sometimes corrects their pernicious tendency. The Western emperor, with the Senate and people of Rome, embraced the more salutary resolution of deprecating, by a solemn and suppliant embassy, the wrath of Attila. This important commission was accepted by Avienus, who, from his birth and riches, his consular dignity, the numerous train of his clients, and his personal abilities, held the first rank in the Roman Senate. The specious and artful char-

Fabian tactics of Aetius.

The Emperor sends an embassy to Attila.

acter of Avienus was admirably qualified to conduct a negotiation either of public or private interest; his colleague, Trigetius, had exercised the Pretorian prefecture of Italy; and Leo, Bishop of Rome, consented to expose his life for the safety of his flock. The genius of Leo was exercised and displayed in the public misfortunes; and he has deserved the appellation of *Great* by the successful zeal with which he labored to establish his opinions and his authority, under the venerable names of orthodox faith and ecclesiastical discipline. The Roman ambassadors were introduced to the tent of Attila, as he lay encamped at the place where the slow-winding Mincius is lost in the foaming waves of the lake Benachus, and trampled, with his Scythian cavalry, the farms of Catullus and Virgil. The Barbarian monarch listened with favorable, and even respectful, attention; and the deliverance of Italy was purchased by the immense ransom, or dowry, of the Princess Honoria. The state of his army might facilitate the treaty, and hasten his retreat. Their martial spirit was relaxed by the wealth and indolence of a warm climate. The shepherds of the North, whose ordinary food consisted of milk and raw flesh, indulged themselves too freely in the use of bread, of wine, and of meat prepared and seasoned by the arts of cookery; and the progress of disease revenged, in some measure, the injuries of the Italians. When Attila declared

Attila's reception of the Roman ambassadors.

Attila's hardy warriors become enervated.

his resolution of carrying his victorious arms to the gates of Rome, he was admonished by his friends, as well as by his enemies, that Alaric had not long survived the conquest of the eternal city. His mind, superior to real danger, was assaulted by imaginary terrors; nor could he escape the influence of superstition, which had so often been subservient to his designs. The pressing eloquence of Leo, his majestic aspect and sacerdotal robes, excited the veneration of Attila for the spiritual father of the Christians. The apparition of the two apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, who menaced the Barbarian with instant death if he rejected the prayer of their successor, is one of the noblest legends of ecclesiastical tradition. The safety of Rome might deserve the interposition of celestial beings; and some indulgence is due to a fable which has been represented by the pencil of Raphael and the chisel of Algardi.

The apparition of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Before the king of the Huns evacuated Italy, he threatened to return more dreadful and more implacable, if his bride, the Princess Honoria, were not delivered to his ambassadors within the term stipulated by the treaty. Yet, in the meanwhile Attila relieved his tender anxiety by adding a beautiful maid, whose name was Ildico, to the list of his innumerable wives. Their marriage was celebrated with barbaric pomp and festivity at his wooden palace beyond the Danube; and

Attila marries Ildico.

the monarch, oppressed with wine and sleep, retired at a late hour from the banquet to the nuptial bed. His attendants continued to respect his pleasures, or his repose, the greatest part of the ensuing morning, till the unusual silence alarmed their fears and suspicions; and, after attempting to awaken Attila by loud and repeated cries, they at length broke into the royal apartment. They found the trembling bride sitting by the bedside, hiding her face with her veil, and lamenting her own danger as well as the death of the king, who had expired during the night. An artery had suddenly burst; and, as Attila lay in a supine posture, he was suffocated by a torrent of blood, which, instead of finding a passage through the nostrils, regurgitated into the lungs and stomach. His body was solemnly exposed in the midst of the plain under a silken pavilion; and the chosen squadrons of the Huns, wheeling round in measured revolutions, chanted a funeral song to the memory of a hero, glorious in his life, invincible in his death, the father of his people, the scourge of his enemies, and the terror of the world. According to their national custom, the Barbarians cut off a part of their hair, gashed their faces with unseemly wounds, and bewailed their valiant leader as he deserved, not with the tears of women, but with the blood of warriors. The remains of Attila were inclosed within three coffins, of gold, of silver, and of

Death of Attila.

Burial of Attila.

iron, and privately buried in the night: the spoils of nations were thrown into his grave; the captives who had opened the ground were inhumanly massacred; and the same Huns who had indulged such excessive grief feasted with dissolute and intemperate mirth about the recent sepulchre of their king. It was reported at Constantinople that on the fortunate night in which he expired Marcian beheld in a dream the bow of Attila broken asunder; and the report may be allowed to prove how seldom the image of that formidable Barbarian was absent from the mind of a Roman emperor.

Dream of Marcian.

The revolution which subverted the empire of the Huns established the fame of Attila, whose genius alone had sustained the huge and disjointed fabric. After his death, the boldest chieftains aspired to the rank of kings; the most powerful kings refused to acknowledge a superior; and the numerous sons, whom so many various mothers bore to the deceased monarch, divided and disputed, like a private inheritance, the sovereign command of the nations of Germany and Scythia.

Destruction of Attila's empire.

[The withdrawal of the Roman Legions from Britain in 410 left the Britons at the mercy of the Picts and Scots, who began to overrun the country. The Britons call upon the Jutes for assistance. Two of their leaders land in Kent in 449.]

THE SAXON CONQUEST OF BRITAIN

(A.D. 449)

JOHN RICHARD GREEN

IT was to defend Italy against the Goths that Rome in 410 recalled her legions from Britain. The province, thus left unaided, seems to have fought bravely against its assailants, and once at least to have driven back the Picts to their mountains in a rising of despair. But the threat of fresh inroads found Britain torn with civil quarrels which made a united resistance impossible, while its Pictish enemies strengthened themselves by a league with marauders from Ireland (Scots, as they were then called), whose pirate-boats were harrying the western coast of the island, and with a yet more formidable race of pirates who had long been pillaging along the British Channel. These were the English. We do not know whether it was the pressure of other tribes or the example of their German brethren who were now moving in a general attack on the empire from their forest homes, or simply the barrenness of their coast, which drove the hunters, farmers, fishermen of the English tribes to sea. But the daring spirit of their

Britain and the English.

race already broke out in the secrecy and suddenness of their swoop, in the fierceness of their onset, in the careless glee with which they seized either sword or oar. "Foes are they," sang a Roman poet of the time, "fierce beyond other foes, and cunning as they are fierce; the sea is their school of war, and the storm their friend; they are sea-wolves that live on the pillage of the world." To meet the league of Pict, Scot, and Saxon by the forces of the province itself became impossible; and the one course left was to imitate the fatal policy by which the empire had invited its own doom while striving to avert it, the policy of matching barbarian against barbarian. The rulers of Britain resolved to break the league by detaching from it the freebooters who were harrying her eastern coast, and to use their new allies against the Pict. By the usual promises of land and pay, a band of warriors from Jutland were drawn for this purpose in 449 to the shores of Britain, with their chiefs, Hengest and Horsa, at their head.

Character of the English tribes.

It is with the landing of Hengest and his war-band at Ebbsfleet on the shores of the Isle of Thanet that English history begins. No spot in Britain can be so sacred to Englishmen as that which first felt the tread of English feet. There is little indeed to catch the eye in Ebbsfleet itself, a mere lift of higher ground, with a few gray cottages dotted over it, cut off nowadays from the sea by a re-

The English in Thanet.

claimed meadow and a sea-wall. But taken as a whole, the scene has a wild beauty of its own. To the right the white curve of Ramsgate cliffs looks down on the crescent of Pegwell Bay; far away to the left, across gray marsh-levels, where smoke-wreaths mark the sites of Richborough and Sandwich, the coast-line bends dimly to the fresh rise of cliffs beyond Deal. Everything in the character of the ground confirms the national tradition which fixed here the first landing-place of our English fathers, for great as the physical changes of the country have been since the Fifth Century, they have told little on its main features. It is easy to discover in the misty level of the present Minster marsh what was once a broad inlet of sea parting Thanet from the mainland of Britain, through which the pirate-boats of the first Englishmen came sailing with a fair wind to the little gravel-spit of Ebbsfleet; and Richborough, a fortress whose broken ramparts still rise above the gray flats which have taken the place of this older sea-channel, was the common landing-place of travellers from Gaul. If the war-ships of the pirates therefore were cruising off the coast at the moment when the bargain with the Britons was concluded, their disembarkation at Ebbsfleet, almost beneath the walls of Richborough, would be natural enough. But the after-current of events serves to show that the choice of this landing-place

The English conquests, A.D. 449-577.

The landing-place.

was the result of a settled design. Between the Briton and his hireling soldiers there could be little trust. Quarters in Thanet would satisfy the followers of Hengest, who still lay in sight of their fellow-pirates in the Channel, and who felt themselves secured against the treachery which had so often proved fatal to the barbarian by the broad inlet which parted their camp from the mainland. Nor was the choice less satisfactory to the provincial, trembling—and, as the event proved, justly trembling—lest in his zeal against the Pict he had introduced an even fiercer foe into Britain. His dangerous allies were cooped up in a corner of the land, and parted from it by a sea-channel which was guarded by the strongest fortresses of the coast.

The need of such precautions was seen in the disputes which arose as soon as the work for which the mercenaries had been hired was done. The Picts were hardly scattered to the winds in a great battle when danger came from the Jutes themselves. Their numbers probably grew fast as the news of the settlement spread among the pirates in the Channel, and with the increase of their number must have grown the difficulty of supplying rations and pay. The dispute which arose over these questions was at last closed by Hengest's men with a threat of war. The threat, however, as we have seen, was no easy one to carry out. Right across their path in any at-

The English attack.

tack upon Britain stretched the inlet of sea that parted Thanet from the mainland, a strait which was then traversable only at low water by a long and dangerous ford, and guarded at either mouth by the fortresses of Richborough and Reculver. The channel of the Medway, with the forest of the Weald bending round it from the south, furnished another line of defence in the rear, while strongholds on the sites of our Canterbury and Rochester guarded the road to London; and all around lay the soldiers, placed at the command of the Count of the Saxon Shore, to hold the coast against the barbarian. Great, however, as these difficulties were, they failed to check the sudden onset of the Jutes. The inlet seems to have been crossed, the coast-road to London seized, before any force could be collected to oppose the English advance; and it was only when they passed the Swale and looked to their right over the potteries whose refuse still strews the mudbanks of Upchurch, that their march seems to have swerved abruptly to the south. The guarded walls of Rochester probably forced them to turn southward along the ridge of low hills which forms the eastern boundary of the Medway valley. Their way led them through a district full of memories of a past which had even then faded from the minds of men; for the hill-slopes which they traversed were the grave-ground of a vanished race, and scattered among the bowlders

The line of invasion.

that strewed the ground rose the cromlechs and huge barrows of the dead. One mighty relic survives in the monument now called Kit's Coty House, which had been linked in old days by an avenue of huge stones to a burial-ground near Addington. It was from a steep knoll on which the gray weather-beaten stones of this monument are reared that the view of their first battlefield would break on the English warriors; and a lane which still leads down from it through peaceful homesteads would guide them across the ford which has left its name in the little village of Aylesford. The Chronicle of the conquering people tells nothing of the rush that may have carried the ford, or of the fight that went struggling up through the vilage. It only tells that Horsa fell in the moment of victory; and the flint-heap of Horsted, which has long preserved his name, and was held in after-time to mark his grave, is thus the earliest of those monuments of English valor of which Westminster is the last and noblest shrine.

Cromlechs and huge barrows.

The victory of Aylesford did more than give East Kent to the English; it struck the key-note of the whole English conquest of Britain. The massacre which followed the battle indicated at once the merciless nature of the struggle which had begun. While the wealthier Kentish landowners fled in panic over sea, the poorer Britons took refuge in hill and forest till hunger drove them from their

Extermination of the Britons.

lurking-places to be cut down or enslaved by their conquerors. It was in vain that some sought shelter within the walls of their churches; for the rage of the English seems to have burned fiercest against the clergy. The priests were slain at the altar, the churches fired, the peasants driven by the flames to fling themselves on a ring of pitiless steel. It is a picture such as this which distinguishes the conquest of Britain from that of the other provinces of Rome. The conquest of Gaul by the Frank, or of Italy by the Lombard, proved little more than a forcible settlement of the one or the other among tributary subjects who were destined in a long course of ages to absorb their conquerors. French is the tongue, not of the Frank, but of the Gaul whom he overcame; and the fair hair of the Lombard is now all but unknown in Lombardy. But the English conquest for a hundred and fifty years was a sheer dispossession and driving back of the people whom the English conquered. In the world-wide struggle between Rome and the German invaders no land was so stubbornly fought for or so hardly won. The conquest of Britain was indeed only partly wrought out after two centuries of bitter warfare. But it was just through the long and merciless nature of the struggle that of all the German conquests this proved the most thorough and complete. So far as the English sword in these earlier days reached,

Rage against the clergy.

Bitterness of the struggle.

Britain became England, a land, that is, not of Britons, but of Englishmen. It is possible that a few of the vanquished people may have lingered as slaves round the homesteads of their English conquerors, and a few of their household words (if these were not brought in at a later time) mingled oddly with the English tongue. But doubtful exceptions such as these leave the main facts untouched. When the steady progress of English conquest was stayed for a while by civil wars, a century and a half after Aylesford, the Briton had disappeared from half of the land which had been his own, and the tongue, the religion, the laws of his English conqueror reigned without a rival from Essex to the Peak of Derbyshire and the mouth of the Severn, and from the British Channel to the Firth of Forth.

Conquest of the Saxon shore.

Aylesford, however, was but the first step in this career of conquest. How stubborn the contest was may be seen from the fact that it took sixty years to complete the conquest of Southern Britain alone. It was twenty years before Kent itself was won. After a second defeat at the passage of the Cray, the Britons "forsook Kent-land and fled with much fear to London"; but the ground was soon won back again, and it was not until 465 that a series of petty conflicts made way for a decisive struggle at Wippedsfleet. Here, however, the overthrow was so terrible that all hope of saving the bulk of Kent seems to have

been abandoned, and it was only on its southern shore that the Britons held their ground. Eight years later the long contest was over, and with the fall of Lymne, whose broken walls look from the slope to which they cling over the great flat of Romney Marsh, the work of the first conqueror was done. But the greed of plunder drew fresh war-bands from the German coast. New invaders, drawn from among the Saxon tribes that lay between the Elbe and the Rhine, were seen in 477, only four years later, pushing slowly along the strip of land which lay westward of Kent between the Weald and the sea. Nowhere has the physical aspect of the country been more utterly changed. The vast sheet of scrub, woodland, and waste which then bore the name of the Andredsweald stretched for more than a hundred miles from the borders of Kent to the Hampshire Downs, extending northward almost to the Thames, and leaving only a thin strip of coast along its southern edge. This coast was guarded by a great fortress which occupied the spot now called Pevensey, the future landing-place of the Norman Conqueror. The fall of this fortress of Anderida in 491 established the kingdom of the South-Saxons; "Elle and Cissa," ran the pitiless record of the conquerors, "beset Anderida, and slew all that were therein, nor was there afterward one Briton left." Another tribe of Saxons was at the same time

Greed of plunder.

The fall of Pevensey.

conquering on the other side of Kent, to the north of the estuary of the Thames, and had founded the settlement of the East-Saxons, as these warriors came to be called, in the valleys of the Colne and the Stour. To the northward of the Stour, the work of conquest was taken up by the third of the tribes whom we have seen dwelling in their German homeland, whose name was destined to absorb that of Saxon or Jute, and to stamp itself on the land they won. These were the Engle, or Englishmen. Their first descents seem to have fallen on the great district which was cut off from the rest of Britain by the Wash and the Fens and long reaches of forest, the later East Anglia, where the conquerors settled as the North-folk and the South-folk, names still preserved to us in the modern counties. With this settlement the first stage in the conquest was complete. By the close of the Fifth Century the whole coast of Britain, from the Wash to Southampton Water, was in the hands of the invaders. As yet, however, the enemy had touched little more than the coast; great masses of woodland or of fen still prisoned the Engle, the Saxon, and the Jute alike within narrow limits. But the Sixth Century can hardly have been long begun when each of the two peoples who had done the main work of conquest opened a fresh attack on the flanks of the tract they had won. On its northern flank the Engle appeared in the estuaries of the

Engle, or Englishmen.

Forth and of the Humber. On its western flank, the Saxons appeared in the Southampton Water.

Conquest of Southern Britain.

The true conquest of Southern Britain was reserved for a fresh band of Saxons, a tribe whose older name was that of the Gewissas, but who were to be more widely known as the West-Saxons. Landing westward of the strip of coast which had been won by the war-bands of Elle, they struggled under Cerdic and Cynric up from Southampton Water in 495 to the great downs where Winchester offered so rich a prize. Five thousand Britons fell in a fight which opened the country to these invaders, and a fresh victory, at Charford, in 519, set the crown of the West-Saxons on the head of Cerdic. We know little of the incidents of these conquests; nor do we know why at this juncture they seem to have been suddenly interrupted. But it is certain that a victory of the Britons at Mount Badon in the year 520 checked the progress of the West-Saxons, and was followed by a long pause in their advance; for thirty years the great belt of woodland which then curved round from Dorset to the valley of the Thames seems to have barred the way of the assailants. What finally broke their inaction we can not tell. We only know that Cynric, whom Cerdic's death left king of the West-Saxons, again took up the work of invasion by a new advance in 552. The capture of the hill-fort of Old

Cynric's conquests.

Sarum threw open the reaches of the Wiltshire Downs; and pushing northward to a new battle at Barbury Hill, they completed the conquest of the Marlborough Downs. From the bare uplands the invaders turned eastward to the richer valleys of our Berkshire, and after a battle with the Kentish men at Wimbledon, the land south of the Thames, which now forms our Surrey, was added to their dominions. The road along the Thames was, however, barred to them, for the district round London seems to have been already won and colonized by the East-Saxons. But a march of their king, Cuthwulf, made them masters, in 571, of the districts which now form Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire; and a few years later they swooped from the Wiltshire uplands on the rich prey that lay along the Severn. Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath, cities which had leagued under their British kings to resist this onset, became the spoil of a Saxon victory at Deorham in 577, and the line of the great western river lay open to the arms of the conquerors. Under a new king, Ceawlin, the West-Saxons penetrated to the borders of Chester, and Uriconium, a town beside the Wrekin, recently again brought to light, went up in flames. A British poet sings piteously the death-song of Uriconium, "the white town in the valley," the town of white stone gleaming among the green woodland, the hall of its chieftain left "without fire, without light, with-

Conquest of the Severn valley.

out songs," the silence broken only by the eagle's scream, "the eagle who has swallowed fresh drink, heart's blood of Kyndylan the fair." The raid, however, was repulsed, and the blow proved fatal to the power of Wessex. Though the West-Saxons were destined in the end to win the overlordship over every English people, their time had not come yet, and the leadership of the English race was to fall, for nearly a century to come, to the tribe of invaders whose fortunes we have now to follow.

Rivers were the natural inlets by which the northern pirates everywhere made their way into the heart of Europe. In Britain the fortress of London barred their way along the Thames from its mouth, and drove them, as we have seen, to an advance along the southern coast and over the downs of Wiltshire, before reaching its upper waters. But the rivers which united in the estuary of the Humber led like open highways into the heart of Britain, and it was by this inlet that the great mass of the invaders penetrated into the interior of the island. Like the invaders of East Anglia, they were of the English tribe from Sleswick. As the storm fell in the opening of the Sixth Century on the Wolds of Lincolnshire that stretch southward from the Humber, the conquerors who settled in the deserted country were known as the "Lindiswara," or "dwellers about Lindum." A part of the warriors who had en-

The Humber estuary.

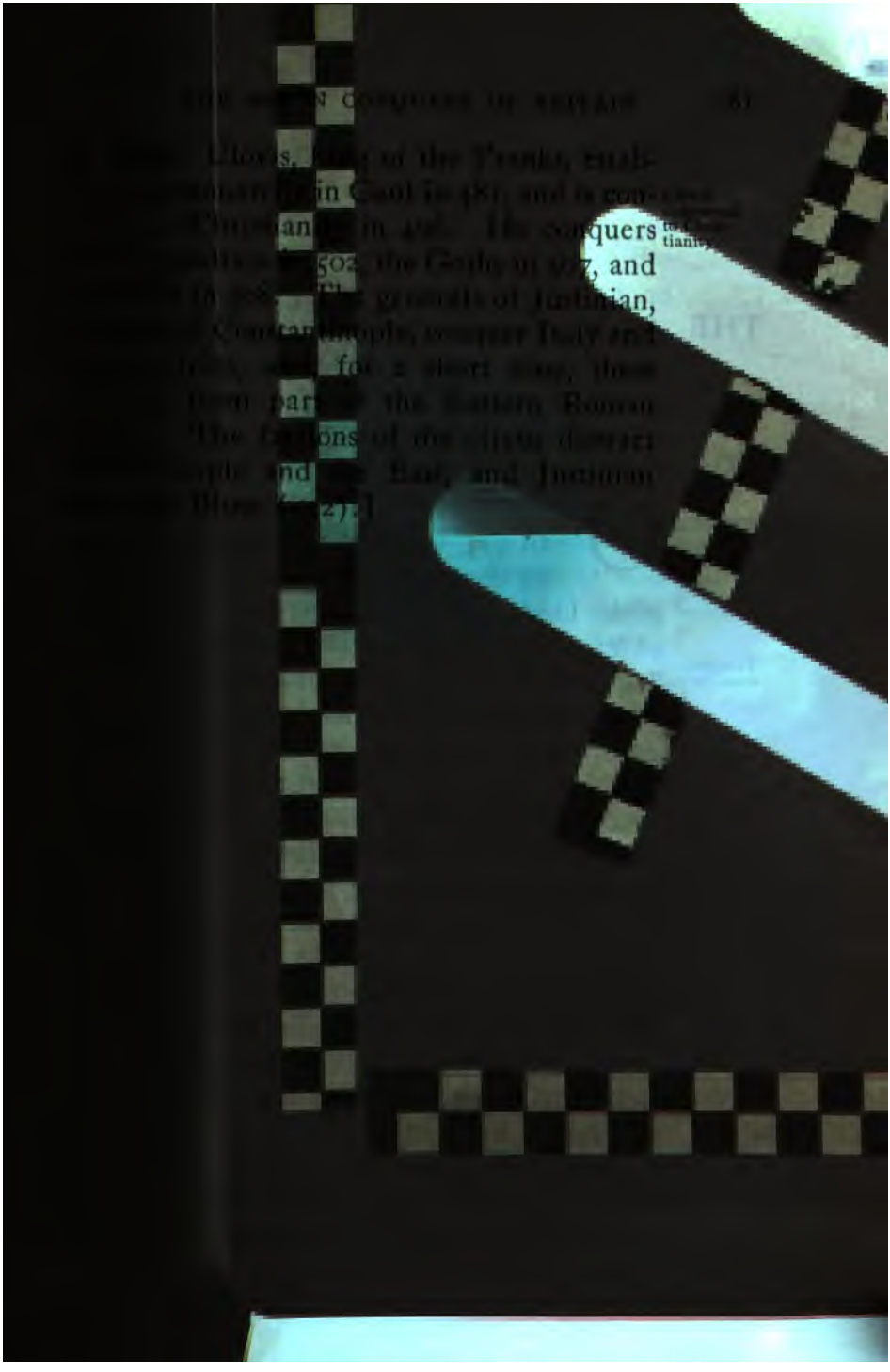
tered the Humber, turning southward by the forest of Elmet, which covered the district around Leeds, followed the course of the Trent. Those who occupied the wooded country between the Trent and the Humber took from their position the name of South-umbrians. A second division, advancing along the curve of the former river and creeping down the line of its tributary, the Soar, till they reached Leicester, became known as the Middle-English. The marshes of the Fen country were settled by tribes known as the Gyrwas. The head waters of the Trent were the seat of those invaders who penetrated furthest to the west, and camped round Lichfield and Repton. This country became the borderland between Englishmen and Britons, and the settlers bore the name of "Mercians," men, that is, of the March or border. We know hardly anything of this conquest of Mid-Britain, and little more of the conquest of the North. Under the Romans, political power had centred in the vast district between the Humber and the Forth. York had been the capital of Britain and the seat of the Roman prefect; and the bulk of the garrison maintained in the island lay cantoned along the Roman wall. Signs of wealth and prosperity appeared everywhere; cities rose beneath the shelter of the Roman camps; villas of British landowners studded the vale of the Ouse and the far-off uplands of the Tweed, where the

The Mercians.

shepherd trusted for security against Pictish marauders to the terror of the Roman name. This district was assailed at once from the north and from the south. A part of the invading force which entered the Humber marched over the Yorkshire wolds to found a kingdom, which was known as that of the Deiri, in the fens of Holderness and on the chalk downs eastward of York. But they were soon drawn onward, and, after a struggle of which we know nothing, York, like its neighbor cities, lay a desolate ruin, while the conquerors spread northward, slaying and burning along the valley of the Ouse. Meanwhile the pirates had appeared in the Forth, and won their way along the Tweed; Ida, and the men of fifty keels which followed him, reared the capital of the northernmost kingdom of the English, that of Bernicia, on the rock of Bamborough, and won their way slowly along the coast against a stubborn resistance which formed the theme of British songs. The strife between the kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia for supremacy in the North was closed by their being united under King Ethelric of Bernicia; and from this union was formed a new kingdom, the kingdom of Northumbria.

The kingdom of Bernicia.

[The Visigoths conquer Spain and Gaul (462-472). In 472, Genseric, king of the Vandals, sacks Rome. Four years later, Odoacer finally extinguishes the Roman Empire of



THE AGE AND LAWS OF JUSTINIAN

(A.D. 530)

WILLIAM FRANCIS COLLIER

ODOACER held the throne of Italy until 493, when he perished at Ravenna by the sword of Theodoric the Ostrogoth. Under the wise rule of the victor, whose chief adviser was the learned Cassiodorus, Italy revived. A waste and ruined land was soon loaded with purple grapes and yellow corn. Fair buildings rose. Once more gold and iron were dug from the earth. Romans and Ostrogoths lived in peace and plenty, although a broad line, jealously preserved by the policy of Theodoric, kept them apart. The fair-haired Goths, still wearing their furs and brogues, carried the sword; while the Romans, wrapped in the flowing toga, held the pen and filled the schools. So passed three and thirty years, until Theodoric died in 526, and then frightful scenes of blood were enacted over his fallen throne.

Theodoric rules Italy.

Some time before Theodoric's descent upon Italy, a Frank, called Chlodwig or Clovis (the name was afterward softened into Louis),

crossed the Somme, and drove pell-mell before him Romans, Burgundians, and Visigoths, never resting until his dominion stretched from the delta of the Rhine to the Pyrenees. During his career of victory he was baptized a Christian at Rheims in 496. Soon afterward he fixed his capital at Paris, where he died in 511. The old church is still pointed out, in which this founder of the French monarchy was buried. It is worth remembering that Theodoric married the sister of Clovis.

Clovis the Frank.

During these events young Justinian was growing up in Constantinople. An uncle, Justin, a stalwart peasant of Dacia, enlisting in early life among the guards of Leo, had risen to be Emperor of the East. By him Justinian was educated, adopted, and, in 527, crowned.

Accession of Justinian.

Belisarius soon became the foremost name of the age. The first laurels of this great general were won in Persia; he was then chosen to lead an expedition against the Vandals of Africa. Landing there, within the same month, he led his troops into Carthage, which blazed with torches of welcome. Gelimer, the Vandal king, after a vain attempt to retrieve his fortunes, fled to the Numidian mountains, but was soon starved into a surrender, and carried to Constantinople to grace the victor's triumph. Among the spoils were the vessels of the Jewish Temple, which, car-

ried to Rome by Titus, had been brought to Carthage by the pirate Genseric, and were now placed in the Christian Church at Jerusalem.

But the greatest achievement of Belisarius was the conquest of Italy, by which for a short time the East and the West were reunited under one sovereign. The subdual of Sicily, the capture of Naples and of Rome, mark the steps of victory by which he drove the Goths northward before him. Mustering the whole strength of their nation at Ravenna, under their king, Vitiges, they marched to besiege Belisarius in Rome. And then the genius of this great commander shone with its brightest lustre. In the first assault the Goths were nearly successful; but Belisarius, fighting dusty and blood-stained in the front of the battle, turned back the tide of war. After many days of busy preparation another grand assault was made. Hastily the walls were manned; and, as the giant lines came on, Belisarius himself, shooting the first arrow, pierced the foremost leader. A second shaft, from the same true hand, laid another low. And then a whole cloud, aimed only at the oxen which drew the towers and siege-train toward the wall, brought the attacking army to a complete standstill. It was a decided check; and, though the siege dragged on for more than a year, every effort of the Goths was met and foiled with equal skill. So hot was the de-

Belisarius and his conquests, A.D. 533-536.

fence at times, that matchless statues were often broken up, and hurled from the wall upon the Goths below. About the middle of the siege, the Pope Sylverius, convicted of having sent a letter to the Goths, promising to open one of the gates to them, was banished from the city. And at last the besiegers, worn out with useless toil, burned their tents and fell back to Ravenna, where before long they yielded to the triumphant Illyrian, at whose feet all Italy then lay. Milan, a city second only to Rome, had been destroyed the year before by a host of Franks, who rushed down from the Alps to aid the Goths, and enrich themselves with the plunder of the plain.

Pope Sylverius banished.

Through all these brilliant achievements Belisarius had been greatly vexed and hampered by intriguing rivals, especially the ambitious Narses. And now his star began to pale. In two campaigns (541-542), he drove back over the Euphrates the Persian king Nushirvan, who had ruined Antioch, and was planning a raid upon Jerusalem. A report having reached the camp that Justinian was dying, the general let fall some rash words, which implied that the Empress Theodora—once an actress of most wicked life—was unworthy to succeed to the throne. For this he was recalled, disgraced, and heavily fined, his life being spared only for the sake of his profligate wife Antonina, who was then in high favor with the Empress.

Narses hampers Belisarius.

Sent to Italy again in 544 to oppose Totilas, a brave and clever Goth, who was making manful efforts to restore the empire of Theodoric, Belisarius was forced to stand idly by with insufficient forces, while the Goths took Rome, having reduced the citizens to feed on mice and nettles (546). He recovered the city in a month or two, and then held out against every attack; but during the remainder of his stay in Italy his strength was frittered away in the south of the peninsula, where Totilas pressed him hard. At length, in 548, he got leave to return home.

The Goths take Rome.

Then, having narrowly escaped murder, he lived in private until 559, when he was called into the field to meet an inroad of Bulgarians, who, coming originally from Mount Ural, had crossed the frozen Danube, and were now only twenty miles from Constantinople. The stout old soldier, having beaten back the savages, came home to be treated coldly, and dismissed without thanks. Soon after, accused of plotting to murder the Emperor, he was stripped of all his wealth, and imprisoned in his own house. His freedom was restored, but the death-blow had been given; he lived only eight months longer.

Treatment of Belisarius.

We are all familiar with the bent figure of a blind old man, begging for alms in the streets, though he was once the great General Belisarius, conqueror of Africa and Italy. Painters and poets have seized ea-

gerly on the romantic story; but it is doubted by most historians.

Narses destroys the Ostrogothic kingdom.

It was left for Narses, purse-bearer to Justinian, the rival and successor of Belisarius, to destroy the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy. Lombards, Heruli, and Huns following his banner, he defeated and slew Totilas at Tadinæ in 522, and then occupied Rome, which was taken and retaken five times during the reign of Justinian. But his task was not finished until Teias, last of the Ostrogothic kings, fell at the foot of Vesuvius. Most of the surviving Ostrogoths were then allowed to leave Italy with part of their wealth. And thus, having held the peninsula for sixty years, they pass from our sight. Narses, having then repelled a swarm of Franks and Alemanni, who ravaged Italy from north to south, was made the first Exarch of Ravenna, and continued for many years to rule with prudence and vigor.

The Ostrogoths leave Italy.

It is now time we should turn to the greatest glory of Justinian's reign—his reduction of Roman law to a simple and condensed system. For centuries the laws had been multiplying. Every decree of every emperor—even heedless words spoken by the veriest fool or blackest villain in that most checkered line from Adrian to Justinian—became a binding law. Nobody could know the law, for on any point there might be a dozen contradictory decisions. Justinian set himself, with the aid of Tribonian, and other learned men, to work

Legislation of Justinian.

this chaos into order. His system consists of four great parts: 1. The "Code," a condensation of all earlier systems, was first published in 529. 2. Not less valuable were the "Institutes," a volume treating of the elements of Roman law, intended for students, and published in 533. 3. In the same year appeared the "Digest," or "Pandects" (the latter word means "comprising all"), which, in fifty volumes, gave the essence of the Roman jurisprudence. This great work was finished in three years; and some idea of the cutting-down found needful may be gathered from the fact, that three millions of sentences were reduced to one hundred and fifty thousand. 4. The "Novels" embraced the new laws issued by Justinian himself.

The riot, Nika, 532.

During all this reign the old rivalry between the Blue and Green factions of the Circus convulsed the capital. It reached a crisis in 532, when a destructive riot, called *Nika* (Victory), from the watchword of the combatants, raged for five days. Blues and Greens united against the emperor, who was on the point of fleeing, when the firmness of his wife restrained him. The Blues returned to their allegiance; and the blood of 30,000 of their wretched foes soaked the sand of the Hippodrome. The secret of silk-making, which had been jealously guarded by the Chinese, was now made known to Europe by two monks, who brought the eggs of the silkworm from

the East, hidden in a hollow cane. Justinian adorned his capital with twenty-five churches, of which the chief was St. Sophia, gleaming with gems and many-colored marble. In 541 the Roman Consulship—once the world's proudest dignity, but long since dwindled into an empty title—ceased to exist; it was not, however, till three centuries later, that the "grand old name" was abolished by law.

Justinian died in 565, aged eighty-three. Leaving no heirs, he was succeeded by his nephew, Justin II. He was active, temperate, good-natured; but the slave of an imperious and vicious wife. In his religious views he was capricious and intolerant; in early days a persecutor of heresy—in old age himself a heretic. Death of Justinian.

[Alboin, king of the Lombards, destroys the king and kingdom of the Gepidæ in 566, and the next year undertakes the conquest of Italy. The Eastern Empire and Persia are engaged in a long struggle for fifty years; Chosroes invades the Empire and conquers Syria (611), Palestine (614), Egypt (616), and Asia Minor. Heraclius delivers Constantinople from the Persians and Avars in 626. The next year he puts Chosroes to flight, and the latter is then deposed and murdered by his son. Peace is concluded between the two Empires in 628.]

THE HEGIRA

(A.D. 622)

EDWARD HENRY PALMER

THE chief seat of the cult of the deities of Arabia was Mecca, also called Bekka, both names signifying a place of concourse; another name of the city is Umm el Qurâ, "the mother of cities," or metropolis. It was built about the middle of the Fifth Century of our era by the Qurâis on their obtaining possession of the Kaabah, the most ancient shrine in the country. It is situated in a narrow, sandy valley, shut in by bare mountains. The soil around the city is stony and unproductive, and the inhabitants are obliged to import their own provisions. To furnish this supply with more regularity, Hâshim, Mohammed's grandfather, appointed two caravans, one in winter and the other in summer, to set out yearly.

Mecca, the sacred city.

The Kaabah is mentioned by Diodorus as a famous temple, whose sanctity was even then revered by all the Arabians; its origin must therefore be ascribed to a very remote period. The name, which simply means "a cube," was

given it on account of its shape, it being built square of unhewn stones. It was supposed to have been built by Adam from a model brought from heaven, and to have been subsequently restored by Seth, and later on by Abraham and Ishmael. The Kaabah and its history.

The well Zem-Zem, among the most venerated objects in the sacred precincts of Mecca, is believed to be the spring which Hagar discovered when she fled out into the wilderness with her son Ishmael. It was a small stream flowing from one of the surrounding hills, and this having, in course of time, dried up, 'Abd al Muttalib, Mohammed's grandfather, caused the well to be dug on the spot whence the spring originally issued. The well Zem-Zem.

The Kaabah, so far as the dim legends of antiquity throw any light on the subject, remained for a long period in the hands of the descendants of Ishmael, and on their migrating to other parts of the peninsula its guardianship became vested in their kinsmen, the Jorhamites. The Jorhamites were defeated and deposed by a coalition of the Benu Bakr and Benu 'Huzâ'hah, and the charge of the Kaabah remained with the last-mentioned tribe.

Quzâi, an ancestor of the prophet, making common cause with the Benu Kenânah, defeated the Benu Bakr and Benu 'Huzâ'hah and restored the custody of the Kaabah to his own tribe, the Qurâis.

Ancestry of Mohammed.

From Quzâi it descended to his eldest son, 'Abd ed Dar, from whom the principal offices were, however, transferred to his brother, 'Abd Menâf. 'Abd Menâf left four sons, 'Abd Shems, Hâshim, al Muttalib and Nâufel. To Hâshim was intrusted the guardianship of the Kaabah and the right of supplying food to the pilgrims, together with the princedom of Mecca. Hâshim and his son, 'Abd al Muttalib, filled the office with so much liberality that the wealth of the family, though considerable, was nearly all dissipated, and the rival family of Ommaiyeh, son of 'Abd Shems, took over the more expensive offices, with the prestige which they naturally carried.

'Abd al Muttalib's youngest son, 'Abd alah, married a kinswoman settled at Yathrib (Medînah), by whom he had one posthumous child, Mohammed, the future prophet.

Birth of Mohammed.

The exact date generally given of Mohammed's birth is April 20, 571, but all that is absolutely certain is that he was born in the Year of the Elephant. All that the child inherited from his father was five camels and a slave girl.

Mohammed had reached his fortieth year when the first revelations came to him. They were the almost natural outcome of his mode of life and habit of thought, and especially of his physical constitution. From youth upward he had suffered from a nervous disorder which tradition calls epilepsy, but the symp-

toms of which more closely resemble certain hysterical phenomena well known and diagnosed in the present time, and which are almost always accompanied with hallucinations, abnormal exercise of the mental functions, and not unfrequently with a certain amount of deception, both voluntary and otherwise.

The thought that he might be, after all, mad or possessed (magnum), was terrible to Mohammed. He struggled for a long time against the idea, and endeavored to support himself by belief in the reality of the divine mission which he had received upon Mount 'Hirâ; but no more revelations came, nothing occurred to give him further confidence and hope, and Mohammed began to feel that such a life could be endured no longer. The "Fatrah," or "intermission," as this period, without revelation, was called, lasted for two and a half or three years. The Fatrah.

Dark thoughts of suicide presented themselves to his mind, and on more than one occasion he climbed the steep sides of Mount 'Hirâ, or Mount Thabîr, with the desperate intention of putting an end to his unquiet life by hurling himself from one of the precipitous cliffs. But a mysterious power appeared to hold him back, and at length the long-looked-for vision came, which was to confirm him in his prophetic mission.

And now the revelations came in rapid succession. He no longer doubted the reality of The revelations.

the inspiration, and his conviction of the unity of God and of his divine commission to preach it was indelibly impressed upon his mind.

To the great mass of the citizens of Mecca the new doctrine was simply 'Hanîfism, to which they had become accustomed, and they did not at first trouble themselves at all about the matter. Mohammed's claim, however, to be the Apostle of God called forth more opposition, causing some to hate him for his presumption, and others to ridicule him for his pretensions; some regarded him in the light of one possessed, while another class looked upon him as a mere vulgar soothsayer.

How Mecca accepted the new prophet.

But in preaching the unity of Allâh, Mohammed was attacking the very existence of the idols, in the guardianship of which consisted not only the supremacy of Mecca, but the welfare and importance of the state. The chiefs of the Qurâis therefore began to look with no favorable eye upon the prophet, whom they regarded as a dangerous political innovator. But Mohammed came of the most noble family in Mecca, and could not be attacked or suppressed without calling down upon the aggressors the certain vengeance of his protector, Abu Tâlib, and his clan. A deputation of the chiefs, therefore, waited upon Abu Tâlib and begged him to enforce silence upon his nephew, or to withdraw protection, which latter alternative was equivalent to handing him over to the summary

vengeance of his foes. This Abu Tâlib firmly but politely refused to do, and it was not until they added threats to their entreaties that he consented even to remonstrate with his nephew.

So hostile was now the attitude of the Qurâis that the believers of Mecca prepared for flight, and at last there were only left in Mecca three members of the community, Mohammed himself, Abu Bekr, and Ali.

The Qurâis now held a solemn council of war, at which, on the suggestion of Abu Gahl, it was determined that eleven men, each a prominent member of one of the noble families of the town, should simultaneously attack and murder Mohammed, and by thus dividing the responsibility should avoid the consequences of the blood feud; for, as they rightly judged, the Hâsimis, not being sufficiently powerful to take the blood revenge on so many families, would be obliged to accept the blood money instead.

Hostility of the Qurâis.

Mohammed had timely warning of this design, and giving Ali his mantle bade him pretend to sleep on the couch usually occupied by himself, and so divert the attention of the would-be murderers who were watching around his house. In the meantime Mohammed and Abu Bekr escaped by a back window in the house of the latter, and the two hid themselves in a cavern on Mount Thaur, an hour and a half distant from Mecca, before the Qurâis had discovered the ruse and heard

Mohammed is warned and escapes.

of their flight. A hot pursuit was immediately organized.

For three days they lay concealed, their enemies once coming so near that Abu Bekr, trembling, said, "We are but two." "Nay," said Mohammed, "we are three; for God is with us." The legend tells us that a spider had woven its web across the mouth of the cave, so that the Qurâis, thinking that no one had entered in, passed it over in their search.

At length they ventured once more to set out, and, mounted on fleet camels, reached Yathrib in safety. Three days after they were joined by Ali, who had been allowed to leave after a few hours' imprisonment.

The Hegira, A.D. 622.

This was the celebrated Higrah, or flight, from which the Mohammedan era dates. It took place on June 16, in the year of our Lord 622. The city of Yathrib was henceforth known as Madînat en Nebî, "the city of the prophet," or simply El Medînah.

Mohammed establishes himself at El Medînah.

Once established at El Medînah, Mohammed proceeded to regulate the rites and ceremonies of his religion, built a mosque to serve as a place of prayer and hall of general assembly, and appointed Bilâl, the Abyssinian slave who had been so faithful throughout the former persecutions, as crier to call the believers to the five daily prayers. His next care was to reconcile, as far as possible, the various opposing parties of the city, and this was by no means an easy task. Soon after-

ward he turned his attention to his native city, which had rejected him and driven him out; and feeling himself now sufficiently strong to take the offensive, he began to preach the Holy War.

He begins to preach the Holy War.

For six years neither he nor his followers had visited the Kaabah, or performed the sacred rites of the pilgrimage, and in the year 628 he resolved to attempt it. The time chosen was in the sacred month of DHu'l Qa'hdah, when the Lesser Pilgrimage was wont to be performed, rather than DHu'l Higgeh, that of the Greater Pilgrimage, as less likely to lead to a collision with the other tribes. Fifteen hundred men only accompanied Mohammed, bearing no other arms than those usually allowed to pilgrims, a sheathed sword for each.

The Meccans contemplated Mohammed's advance with no small apprehension, and not believing in his pacific intentions, resolved to bar his progress. Mohammed, thus checked, turned aside toward 'Hudâibîyeh, on the frontier of the sacred territory.

Here after some negotiations a treaty was concluded in which a truce of ten years was agreed upon; any of the Meccans who pleased should be at liberty to join Mohammed, and *vice versâ,* any of the Muslims who chose might enter the Meccan ranks; only those who were clients of powerful chiefs were not to be allowed to become Muslims without the

The ten years' truce.

consent of their patrons. Mohammed and his followers were not to enter Mecca that year, but the next year they were to be permitted to do so and to remain for three days.

This was, in reality, a great triumph for Mohammed, as it recognized his position as an independent prince, while the ten years' truce not only enabled him without hindrance to propagate his doctrines at Mecca, but, by removing the constant danger in which he stood from that city, gave him the opportunity of turning his attention elsewhere.

Tries to enforce his teaching.

He now not only endeavored to reduce the Bedawîn tribes to submission, but wrote letters to the great kings and emperors of the world, to the Persian Khosrou, to the Byzantine Emperor, and to the Abyssinian Naggâsî, peremptorily bidding them embrace the faith and submit to his rule. The replies that he received were not flattering to his pride, but he or his immediate successors were, ere long, to repeat the summons in a form that admitted neither of denial nor delay.

One potentate only, the governor of Egypt, Maqauqas, returned a favorable answer, and he sent, among other presents, two slave girls, one of whom, a Coptic girl named Mary, Mohammed took to himself, and by so doing estranged his numerous wives, and was only reconciled by a revelation.

In 629, in the month of DHu'l Qa'hdah (February), the long-expected pilgrimage

took place. With two thousand followers the prophet entered the Holy City, and the Meccans having retired to the neighboring hills, all passed off quietly. Mohammed enters Mecca.

In March, 632, he made his last pilgrimage to Mecca, the "Farewell Pilgrimage," as the Muslims call it, and standing upon Mount Arafât he addressed the assembled multitude —more than forty thousand of pilgrims—bade them stand firm by the faith that he had taught them, and called God to witness that he had delivered his message and fulfilled his mission. Mohammed's last pilgrimage.

In June he fell sick, and himself perceived that his end was drawing nigh. On Monday, June 8, feeling better, he went to the Mosque of Medînah, where Abu Bekr was conducting the prayers before a crowded congregation who had flocked there to hear news of the prophet. Mohammed's entry was quite unexpected, but in spite of the weakness evident from his faltering gait, his countenance was bright, and his voice as clear and commanding as ever. Mounting the lower steps of the pulpit, he said a few last words to the people, and, having given some parting injunctions to Osâma, whom he had intrusted with the command of an army to Syria, Mohammed returned to his house and lay down to rest in 'Ayesha's chamber. Here, resting his head upon her bosom, the prophet of Arabia fell asleep. Last hours of Mohammed.

Estimate of Mohammed.

In forming our estimate of Mohammed's character and of the religion which we are accustomed to call by his name, we must put aside the theories of imposture and enthusiasm, as well as that of divine inspiration. Even the theory of his being a great political reformer does not contain the whole truth; and although it is certain that his personal character exercised a most important influence on his doctrine, yet it is not by any means evident that it even molded it into its present shape.

The enthusiasm which he himself inspired, and the readiness with which such men as Abu Bekr and Omar, Arabs of the noblest birth, ranged themselves among his followers, who consisted for the most part of men of the lowest rank, slaves, freedmen, and the like, prove that he could have been no mere impostor.

The Qur'an.

The early portions of the Qur'ân are the genuine rhapsodies of an enthusiast who believed himself inspired, and Mohammed himself points to them in the later Sûrahs as irrefragable proofs of the divine origin of his mission. In his later history, however, there are evidences of that tendency to pious fraud which the profession of a prophet necessarily involves. Although commenced in perfect good faith, such a profession must place the enthusiast at last in an embarrassing position, and the very desire to prove the truth of what

he himself believes may reduce him to the alternative of resorting to a pious fraud or of relinquishing all the results which he has previously attained.

At the outset of his career he turned to the Jews, imagining that, as he claimed to restore the original religion of Abraham, and appealed to the Jewish scriptures for confirmation of his teaching, they would support him. Disappointed in this quarter, he treated them with more bitter hostility than any other of his opponents.

Mohammed turns to the Jews for support.

In the latter part of his career he took but little notice either of the Jews or Christians, and when he does mention the latter, it is without any of the conciliatory spirit which he at first displayed to them, and they are not only sharply reproved for their errors, but are included in the general mass of infidels against whom the true believers are to fight.

THE CONQUEST OF PERSIA

(A.D. 632–641)

EDWARD GIBBON

IN the victorious days of the Roman republic, it had been the aim of the Senate to confine their consuls and legions to a single war, and completely to suppress a first enemy before they provoked the hostilities of a second. These timid maxims of policy were disdained by the magnanimity or enthusiasm of the Arabian caliphs. With the same vigor and success they invaded the successors of Augustus and those of Artaxerxes; and the rival monarchies at the same instant became the prey of an enemy whom they had been so long accustomed to despise. In the ten years of the administration of Omar, the Saracens reduced to his obedience thirty-six thousand cities or castles, destroyed four thousand churches or temples of the unbelievers, and edified fourteen hundred mosques for the exercise of the religion of Mahomet. One hundred years after his flight from Mecca, the arms and the reign of his successors extended from India to the Atlantic ocean, over

Roman policy.

the various and distant provinces, which may be comprised under the names of, I. Persia; II. Syria; III. Egypt; IV. Africa; and, V. Spain.

In the first year of the first caliph, his lieutenant, Caled, the sword of God, and the scourge of the infidels, advanced to the banks of the Euphrates, and reduced the cities of Anbar and Hira. Westward of the ruins of Babylon, a tribe of sedentary Arabs had fixed themselves on the verge of the desert; and Hira was the seat of a race of kings who had embraced the Christian religion, and reigned above six hundred years under the shadow of the throne of Persia. The last of the Mondars was defeated and slain by Caled; his son was sent a captive to Medina; his nobles bowed before the successor of the prophet; the people were tempted by the example and success of their countrymen; and the caliph accepted, as the first-fruits of foreign conquest, an annual tribute of seventy thousand pieces of gold. The conquerors, and even their historians, were astonished by the dawn of their future greatness: "In the same year," says Elmacin, "Caled fought many signal battles; an immense multitude of the infidels was slaughtered; and spoils, infinite and innumerable, were acquired by the victorious Moslems." But the invincible Caled was soon transferred to the Syrian war: the invasion of the Persian frontier was conducted by less active or less

Invasion of Persia, A.D. 632.

Spoils of the Moslems.

prudent commanders: the Saracens were repulsed with loss in the passage of the Euphrates; and, though they chastised the insolent pursuit of the Magians, their remaining forces still hovered in the desert of Babylon.

Fear unites the Persians.

The indignation and fears of the Persians suspended for a moment their intestine divisions. By the unanimous sentence of the priests and nobles, their queen, Arzema, was deposed; the sixth of the transient usurpers, who had arisen and vanished in three or four years, since the death of Chosroes and the retreat of Heraclius. Her tiara was placed on the head of Yezdegerd, the grandson of Chosroes; and the same era, which coincides with an astronomical period, has recorded the fall of the Sassanian dynasty and the religion of Zoroaster. The youth and inexperience of the prince, he was only fifteen years of age, declined a perilous encounter: the royal standard was delivered into the hands of his general, Rustam; and a remnant of thirty thousand regular troops was swelled in truth, or in opinion, to one hundred and twenty thousand subjects, or allies, of the great king. The Moslems, whose numbers were reinforced from twelve to thirty thousand, had pitched their camp in the plains of Cadesia: and their line, though it consisted of fewer *men,* could produce more *soldiers* than the unwieldy host of the infidels. I shall here observe what I must often repeat, that the charge of the Arabs

Battle of Cadesia, A.D. 636.

was not, like that of the Greeks and Romans, the effort of a firm and compact infantry: their military force was chiefly formed of cavalry and archers; and the engagement, which was often interrupted and often renewed by single combats and flying skirmishes, might be protracted without any decisive event to the continuance of several days. The periods of the battle of Cadesia were distinguished by their peculiar appellations. The first, from the well-timed appearance of six thousand of the Syrian brethren, was denominated the day of *succor*. The day of *concussion* might express the disorder of one, or perhaps of both, of the contending armies. The third, a nocturnal tumult, received the whimsical name of the night of *barking*, from the discordant clamors, which were compared to the inarticulate sounds of the fiercest animals. The morning of the succeeding day determined the fate of Persia; and a seasonable whirlwind drove a cloud of dust against the faces of the unbelievers. The clangor of arms was re-echoed to the tent of Rustam, who, far unlike the ancient hero of his name, was gently reclining in a cool and tranquil shade, amid the baggage of his camp, and the train of mules that were laden with gold and silver. On the sound of danger he started from his couch; but his flight was overtaken by a valiant Arab, who caught him by the foot, struck off his head, hoisted it on a lance, and instantly re-

Arab tactics.

Death of Rustam.

turning to the field of battle, carried slaughter and dismay among the thickest ranks of the Persians. The Saracens confess a loss of seven thousand five hundred men; and the battle of Cadesia is justly described by the epithets of obstinate and atrocious. The standard of the monarchy was overthrown and captured in the field—a leathern apron of a blacksmith, who, in ancient times, had arisen the deliverer of Persia; but this badge of heroic poverty was disguised, and almost concealed, by a profusion of precious gems. After this victory, the wealthy province of Irak, or Assyria, submitted to the caliph, and his conquests were firmly established by the speedy foundation of Bassora, a place which ever commands the trade and navigation of the Persians. At the distance of fourscore miles from the gulf, the Euphrates and Tigris unite in a broad and direct current, which is aptly styled the river of the Arabs. In the midway, between the junction and the mouth of these famous streams, the new settlement was planted on the western bank: the first colony was composed of eight hundred Moslems; but the influence of the situation soon reared a flourishing and populous capital. The air, though excessively hot, is pure and healthy: the meadows are filled with palm-trees and cattle; and one of the adjacent valleys has been celebrated among the four paradises or gardens of Asia. Under the first caliphs, the jurisdiction of this

Foundation of Bassora.

Arabian colony extended over the southern provinces of Persia: the city has been sanctified by the tombs of the companions and martyrs; and the vessels of Europe still frequent the port of Bassora, as a convenient station and passage of the Indian trade.

After the defeat of Cadesia, a country intersected by rivers and canals might have opposed an insuperable barrier to the victorious cavalry; and the walls of Ctesiphon or Madayn, which had resisted the battering-rams of the Romans, would not have yielded to the darts of the Saracens. But the flying Persians were overcome by the belief that the last day of their religion and empire was at hand: the strongest posts were abandoned by treachery or cowardice; and the king, with a part of his family and treasures, escaped to Holwan at the foot of the Median hills. In the third month after the battle, Said, the lieutenant of Omar, passed the Tigris without opposition; the capital was taken by assault; and the disorderly resistance of the people gave a keener edge to the sabres of the Moslems, who shouted with religious transport, "This is the white palace of Chosroes; this is the promise of the apostle of God!" The naked robbers of the desert were suddenly enriched beyond the measure of their hope or knowledge. Each chamber revealed a new treasure secreted with art, or ostentatiously displayed; the gold and silver, the various wardrobes and precious fur-

Sack of Madayn, A.D. 637.

Wealth of the spoil.

niture, surpassed (says Abulfeda) the estimate of fancy or numbers; and another historian defines the untold and almost infinite mass, by the fabulous computation of three thousands of thousands of thousands of pieces of gold. Some minute though curious facts represent the contrast of riches and ignorance. From the remote islands of the Indian ocean, a large provision of camphire had been imported, which is employed with a mixture of wax to illuminate the palaces of the east. Strangers to the name and properties of that odoriferous gum, the Saracens, mistaking it for salt, mingled the camphire in their bread, and were astonished at the bitterness of the taste. One of the apartments of the palace was decorated with a carpet of silk, sixty cubits in length, and as many in breadth: a paradise or garden was depictured on the ground; the flowers, fruits, and shrubs, were imitated by the figures of the gold embroidery, and the colors of the precious stones; and the ample square was encircled by a variegated and verdant border. The Arabian general persuaded his soldiers to relinquish their claim, in the reasonable hope that the eyes of the caliph would be delighted with the splendid workmanship of nature and industry. Regardless of the merit of art, and the pomp of royalty, the rigid Omar divided the prize among his brethren of Medina: the picture was destroyed; but such was the intrinsic value of the materials, that the share of

The wonderful carpet.

Ali alone was sold for twenty thousand drams. A mule that carried away the tiara and cuirass, the belt and bracelets, of Chosroes, was overtaken by the pursuers; the gorgeous trophy was presented to the commander of the faithful; and the gravest of the companions condescended to smile when they beheld the white beard, hairy arms, and uncouth figure of the veteran, who was invested with the spoils of the Great King. The sack of Ctesiphon was followed by its desertion and gradual decay. The Saracens disliked the air and situation of the place, and Omar was advised by his general to remove the seat of government to the western side of the Euphrates. In every age the foundation and ruin of the Assyrian cities have been easy and rapid: the country is destitute of stone and timber; and the most solid structures are composed of bricks baked in the sun, and joined by a cement of the native bitumen. The name of *Cufa* describes a habitation of reeds and earth; but the importance of the new capital was supported by the numbers, wealth, and spirit, of a colony of veterans; and their licentiousness was indulged by the wisest caliphs, who were apprehensive of provoking the revolt of a hundred thousand swords: "Ye men of Cufa," said Ali, who solicited their aid, "you have been always conspicuous by your valor. You conquered the Persian king, and scattered his forces, till you had taken possession of his inheritance." This

Decay of Ctesiphon.

Foundation of Cufa.

mighty conquest was achieved by the battles of Jalula and Nehavend. After the loss of the former, Yezdegerd fled from Holwan, and concealed his shame and despair in the mountains of Farsistan, from whence Cyrus had descended with his equal and valiant companions. The courage of the nation survived that of the monarch: among the hills to the south of Ecbatana or Hamadan, one hundred and fifty thousand Persians made a third and final stand for their religion and country; and the decisive battle of Nehavend was styled by the Arabs the victory of victories. If it be true that the flying general of the Persians was stopped and overtaken in a crowd of mules and camels laden with honey, the incident, however slight or singular, will denote the luxurious impediments of an oriental army.

The king takes flight.

Battle of Nehavend.

[In 632, the Arabs attack the Eastern Roman Empire. During the next seventy-five years, they conquer Syria, Egypt, and Northern Africa. In 709, they cross the Straits of Gibraltar and attack Spain.]

ARAB CONQUEST OF SPAIN

(A.D. 709—713)

EDWARD GIBBON

IN the progress of conquest from the north and south, the Goths and the Saracens encountered each other on the confines of Europe and Africa. In the opinion of the latter, the difference of religion is a reasonable ground of enmity and warfare. As early as the time of Othman their piratical squadrons had ravaged the coasts of Andalusia; nor had they forgotten the relief of Carthage by the Gothic succors. In that age, as well as in the present, the kings of Spain were possessed of the fortress of Ceuta; one of the columns of Hercules, which is divided by a narrow strait from the opposite pillar or point of Europe. A small portion of Mauritania was still wanting to the African conquest; but Musa, in the pride of victory, was repulsed from the walls of Ceuta, by the vigilance and courage of Count Julian, the general of the Goths. From his disappointment and perplexity, Musa was relieved by an unexpected message of the Christian chief, who offered his place, his per-

First temptations and designs of the Arabs.

son, and his sword, to the successors of Mahomet, and solicited the disgraceful honor of introducing their arms into the heart of Spain. If we inquire into the cause of his treachery, the Spaniards will repeat the popular story of his daughter Cava; of a virgin who was seduced, or ravished, by her sovereign; of a father who sacrificed his religion and country to the thirst of revenge. After the decease or deposition of Witiza, his two sons were supplanted by the ambition of Roderic, a noble Goth, whose father, the duke or governor of a province, had fallen a victim to the preceding tyranny. The monarchy was still elective; but the sons of Witiza, educated on the steps of the throne, were impatient of a private station. Their resentment was the more dangerous, as it was varnished with the dissimulation of courts: their followers were excited by the remembrance of favors and the promise of a revolution; and their uncle Oppas, archbishop of Toledo and Seville, was the first person in the church, and the second in the state. It is probable that Julian was involved in the disgrace of the unsuccessful faction; that he had little to hope and much to fear from the new reign; and that the imprudent king could not forget or forgive the injuries which Roderic and his family had sustained. The merit and influence of the count rendered him a useful or formidable subject: his estates were ample, his followers bold and

State of the Gothic monarchy.

Degeneracy of the Goths.

numerous, and it was too fatally shown that, by his Andalusian and Mauritanian commands, he held in his hand the keys of the Spanish monarchy. Too feeble, however, to meet his sovereign in arms, he sought the aid of a foreign power; and his rash invitation of the Moors and Arabs produced the calamities of eight hundred years. In his epistles, or in a personal interview, he revealed the wealth and nakedness of his country; the weakness of an unpopular prince; the degeneracy of an effeminate people. The Goths were no longer the victorious barbarians who had humbled the pride of Rome, despoiled the queen of nations, and penetrated from the Danube to the Atlantic Ocean. Secluded from the world by the Pyrenean mountains, the successors of Alaric had slumbered in a long peace; the walls of the cities were mouldered into dust; the youth had abandoned the exercise of arms; and the presumption of their ancient renown would expose them in a field of battle to the first assault of the invaders. The ambitious Saracen was fired by the ease and importance of the attempt; but the execution was delayed till he had consulted the commander of the faithful; and his messenger returned with the permission of Walid to annex the unknown kingdoms of the West to the religion and throne of the caliphs. In his residence of Tangier, Musa, with secrecy and caution, continued his correspondence and hastened

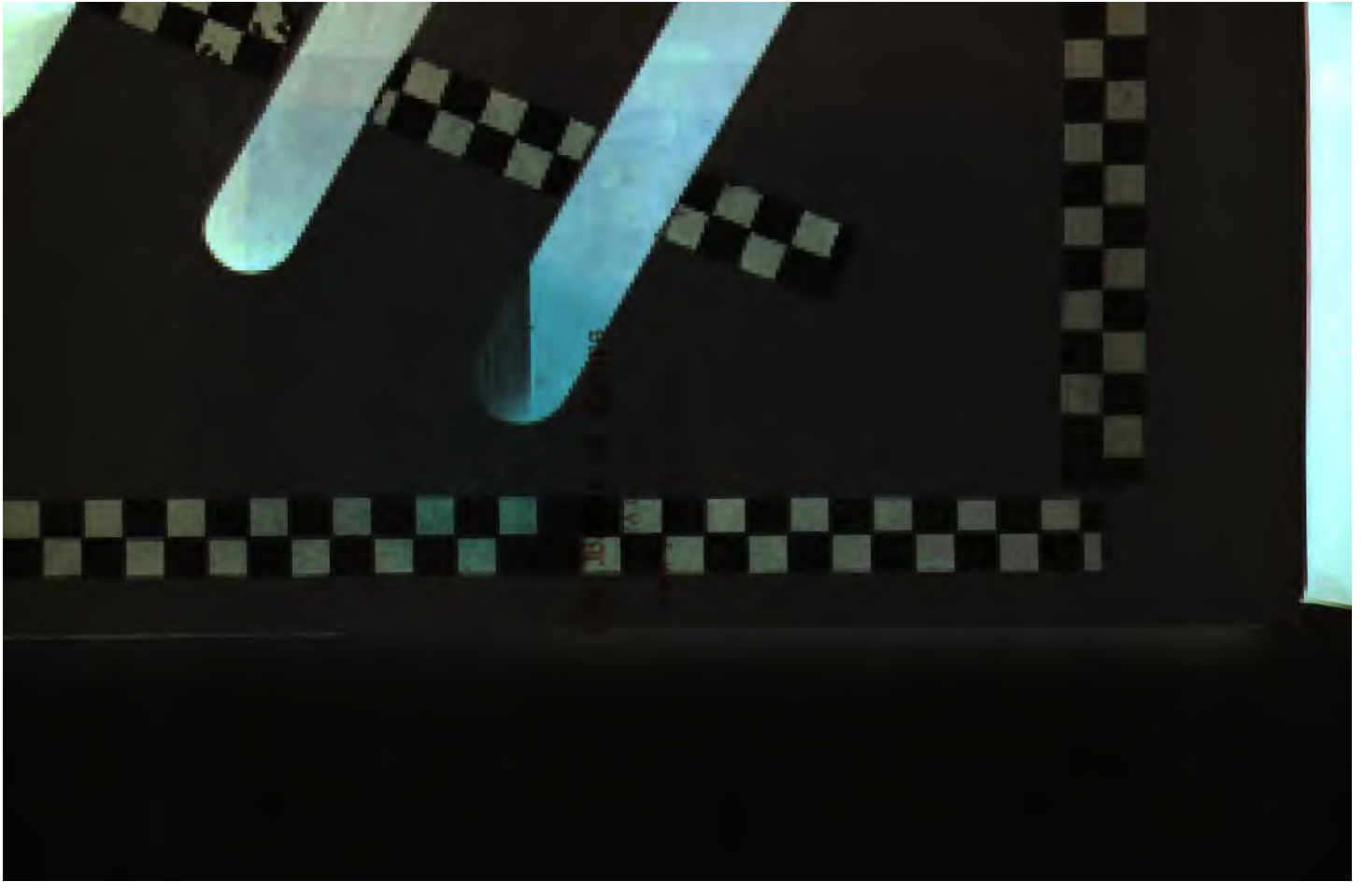
Count Julian seeks aid from Moors and Arabs.

his preparations. But the remorse of the conspirators was soothed by the fallacious assurance that he should content himself with the glory and spoil, without aspiring to establish the Moslems beyond the sea that separates Africa from Europe.

The first descent of the Arabs.

Before Musa would trust an army of the faithful to the traitors and infidels of a foreign land, he made a less dangerous trial of their strength and veracity. One hundred Arabs and four hundred Africans passed over in four vessels from Tangier, or Ceuta; the place of their descent on the opposite shore of the strait is marked by the name of Tarik their chief. From their first station they marched eighteen miles through a hilly country to the castle and town of Julian: on which (it is still called Algezire) they bestowed the name of the Green Island, from a verdant cape that advances into the sea. Their hospitable entertainment, the Christians who joined their standard, their inroad into a fertile and unguarded province, the richness of their spoil, and the safety of their return, announced to their brethren the most favorable omens of victory. In the ensuing spring, five thousand veterans and volunteers were embarked under the command of Tarik, a dauntless and skilful soldier, who surpassed the expectation of his chief; and the necessary transports were provided by the industry of their too faithful ally. The Saracens landed at the pillar or

Tarik's expedition.



and reclining on a litter or car of ivory drawn by two white mules. Notwithstanding the valor of the Saracens, they fainted under the weight of multitudes, and the plain of Xeres was overspread with sixteen thousand of their dead bodies. "My brethren," said Tarik to his surviving companions, "the enemy is before you, the sea is behind: whither would ye fly? Follow your general: I am resolved either to lose my life, or to trample on the prostrate king of the Romans." Besides the resource of despair, he confided in the secret correspondence and nocturnal interviews of Count Julian with the sons and the brother of Witiza.

Total defeat of the Goths.

The two princes and the archbishop of Toledo occupied the most important post: their well-timed defection broke the ranks of the Christians; each warrior was prompted by fear of suspicion to consult his personal safety; and the remains of the Gothic army were scattered or destroyed in the flight and pursuit of the three following days. Amid the general disorder, Roderic started from his car, and mounted Orelia, the fleetest of his horses; but he escaped from a soldier's death to perish more ignobly in the waters of the Betis or Guadalquivir. His diadem, his robes, and his courser, were found on the bank; but as the body of the Gothic prince was lost in the waves, the pride and ignorance of the caliph must have been gratified with

some meaner head, which was exposed in triumph before the palace of Damascus.

Count Julian had plunged so deep into guilt and infamy that his only hope was in the ruin of his country. After the battle of Xeres he recommended the most effectual measures to the victorious Saracen. "The king of the Goths is slain; their princes are fled before you, the army is routed, the nation is astonished. Secure with sufficient detachments the cities of Betica; but in person, and without delay, march to the royal city of Toledo, and allow not the distracted Christians either time or tranquillity for the election of a new monarch." Tarik listened to his advice. A Roman captive and proselyte, who had been enfranchised by the caliph himself, assaulted Cordova with seven hundred horse: he swam the river, surprised the town, and drove the Christians into the great church, where they defended themselves above three months. Another detachment reduced the seacoast of Betica, which in the last period of the Moorish power has comprised in a narrow space the populous kingdom of Grenada. The march of Tarik from the Betis to the Tagus was directed through the Sierra Morena, that separates Andalusia and Castile, till he appeared in arms under the walls of Toledo. The most zealous of the Catholics had escaped with the relics of their saints: and if the gates were shut, it was only till the victor

Ruin of the Gothic monarchy.

Fall of Cordova.

had subscribed a fair and reasonable capitulation. The voluntary exiles were allowed to depart with their effects; seven churches were appropriated to the Christian worship; the archbishop and his clergy were at liberty to exercise their functions, the monks to practice or neglect their penance; and the Goths and Romans were left in all civil and criminal cases to the subordinate jurisdiction of their own laws and magistrates. But if the justice of Tarik protected the Christians, his gratitude and policy rewarded the Jews, to whose secret or open aid he was indebted for his most important acquisitions. Persecuted by the kings and synods of Spain, who had often pressed the alternative of banishment or baptism, that outcast nation embraced the moment of revenge: the comparison of their past and present state was the pledge of their fidelity; and the alliance between the disciples of Moses and of Mahomet was maintained till the final era of their common expulsion. From the royal seat of Toledo, the Arabian leader spread his conquests to the north, over the modern realms of Castile and Leon; but it is needless to enumerate the cities that yielded on his approach, or again to describe the table of emerald, transported from the east by the Romans, acquired by the Goths among the spoils of Rome, and presented by the Arabs to the throne of Damascus. Beyond the Asturian mountains, the maritime town of Gijon

The Jews are rewarded.

was the term of the lieutenant of Musa, who had performed with the speed of a traveller his victorious march of seven hundred miles from the rock of Gibraltar to the Bay of Biscay. The failure of land compelled him to retreat; and he was recalled to Toledo, to excuse his presumption of subduing a kingdom in the absence of his general. Spain, which, in a more savage and disorderly state, had resisted, two hundred years, the arms of the Romans, was overrun in a few months by those of the Saracens; and such was the eagerness of submission and treaty that the governor of Cordova is recorded as the only chief who fell, without conditions, a prisoner into their hands. The cause of the Goths had been irrevocably judged in the field of Xeres; and, in the national dismay, each part of the monarchy declined a contest with the antagonist who had vanquished the united strength of the whole.

Tarik's victorious march.

To disarm the Christians, superstition likewise contributed her terrors: and the subtle Arab encouraged the report of dreams, omens, and prophecies, and of the portraits of the destined conquerors of Spain, that were discovered on breaking open an apartment of the royal palace. Yet a spark of the vital flame was still alive: some invincible fugitives preferred a life of poverty and freedom in the Asturian valleys; the hardy mountaineer repulsed the slaves of the caliph: and the

Omens and prophecies.

sword of Pelagius has been transformed into the sceptre of the Catholic kings.

Musa takes command.

On the intelligence of this rapid success, the applause of Musa degenerated into envy; and he began, not to complain, but to fear, that Tarik would leave him nothing to subdue. At the head of ten thousand Arabs and eight thousand Africans, he passed over in person from Mauritania to Spain: the first of his companions were the noblest of the Koreish: his eldest son was left in the command of Africa; the three younger brethren were of an age and spirit to second the boldest enterprises of their father. At his landing in Algezire, he was respectfully entertained by Count Julian, who stifled his inward remorse, and testified, both in words and actions, that the victory of the Arabs had not impaired his attachment to their cause. Some enemies yet remained for the sword of Musa. The tardy repentance of the Goths had compared their own numbers and those of the invaders; the cities from which the march of Tarik had declined considered themselves as impregnable; and the bravest patriots defended the fortifications of Seville and Merida. They were successively besieged and reduced by the labor of Musa, who transported his camp from the Betis to the Anas, from the Guadalquivir to the Guadiana. When he beheld the works of Roman magnificence, the bridge, the aqueducts, the triumphal arches, and the theatre,

He reduces Seville and Merida.

of the ancient metropolis of Lusitania, "I should imagine," said he to his four companions, "that the human race must have united their art and power in the foundation of this city: happy is the man who shall become its master!" He aspired to that happiness, but the Emeritans sustained on this occasion the honor of their descent from the veteran legionaries of Augustus. Disdaining the confinement of their walls, they gave battle to the Arabs on the plain; but an ambuscade rising from the shelter of a quarry, or a ruin, chastised their indiscretion, and intercepted their return. The wooden turrets of assault were rolled forward to the foot of the rampart; but the defence of Merida was obstinate and long; and the Castle of the Martyrs was a perpetual testimony of the losses of the Moslems. The constancy of the besieged was at length subdued by famine and despair; and the prudent victor disguised his impatience under the names of clemency and esteem. The alternative of exile or tribute was allowed; the churches were divided between the two religions; and the wealth of those who had fallen in the siege, or retired to Gallicia, was confiscated as the reward of the faithful. In the midway between Merida and Toledo, the lieutenant of Musa saluted the vicegerent of the caliph, and conducted him to the palace of the Gothic kings. Their first interview was cold and formal: a rigid account was ex-

Wonders of the ancient metropolis.

Castle of the Martyrs.

Meeting of Musa and Tarik.

Musa's treatment of Tarik.

acted of the treasures of Spain: the character of Tarik was exposed to suspicion and obloquy; and the hero was imprisoned, reviled, and ignominiously scourged by the hand, or the command, of Musa. Yet so strict was the discipline, so pure the zeal, or so tame the spirit, of the primitive Moslems, that, after this public indignity, Tarik could serve and be trusted in the reduction of the Tarragonese province. A mosque was erected at Saragossa, by the liberality of the Koreish: the port of Barcelona was opened to the vessels of Syria; and the Goths were pursued beyond the Pyrenean Mountains into their Gallic province of Septimania or Languedoc. In the church of St. Mary at Carcassone, Musa found, but it is improbable that he left, seven equestrian statues of massy silver; and from his *term* or column of Narbonne, he returned on his footsteps to the Gallician and Lusitanian shores of the ocean. During the absence of the father, his son Abdelaziz chastised the insurgents of

Seville rebels

Seville, and reduced, from Malaga to Valentia, the seacoast of the Mediterranean. In this revolution, many partial calamities were inflicted by the carnal or religious passions of the enthusiasts; some churches were profaned by the new worship; some relics or images were confounded with idols: the rebels were put to the sword; and one town (an obscure place between Cordova and Seville) was razed to its foundations. Yet if we compare the in-

vasion of Spain by the Goths, or its recovery by the kings of Castile and Aragon, we must applaud the moderation and discipline of the Arabian conquerors.

Moderation of the Arabs

[The Arabs besieged Constantinople from 668 to 675, when they received tribute and desisted; and again in 716. Their failure and retreat in 718 was partly due to the invention and employment of the Greek fire. In 721, they undertook the invasion of France.]

Invention of Greek fire.

THE BATTLE OF TOURS

(A.D. 732)

E. S. CREASY

THE conquests which the Saracens effected over the southern and eastern provinces of Rome were far more rapid than those achieved by the Germans in the north, and the new organizations of society which the Moslems introduced were summarily and uniformly enforced. Exactly a century passed between the death of Mohammed and the date of the battle of Tours. During that century the followers of the Prophet had torn away half the Roman empire; and besides their conquests over Persia, the Saracens had overrun Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain, in an uncheckered and apparently irresistible career of victory. Nor, at the commencement of the Eighth Century of our era, was the Mohammedan world divided against itself, as it subsequently became. All these vast regions obeyed the caliph; throughout them all, from the Pyrenees to the Oxus, the name of Mohammed was invoked in prayer, and the Koran revered as the book of the law.

Conquests of the Saracens.

Extent of the caliph's empire.

It was under one of their ablest and most

renowned commanders, with a veteran army, and with every apparent advantage of time, place, and circumstance, that the Arabs made their great effort at the conquest of Europe north of the Pyrenees.

In addition to his cardinal military virtues, Abderrahman is described by the Arab writers as a model of integrity and justice. The first two years of his second administration in Spain were occupied in severe reforms of the abuses which under his predecessors had crept into the system of government, and in extensive preparations for his intended conquest in Gaul. Besides the troops which he collected from his province, he obtained from Africa a large body of chosen Berber cavalry, officered by Arabs of proved skill and valor; and in the summer of 732, he crossed the Pyrenees at the head of an army which some Arab writers rate at eighty thousand strong, while some of the Christian chroniclers swell its numbers to many hundreds of thousands more.

Administration of Abderrahman.

The Merovingian kings had sunk into absolute insignificance, and had become mere puppets of royalty before the Eighth Century. Charles Martel, like his father, Pepin Heristal, was Duke of the Austrasian Franks, the bravest and most thoroughly Germanic part of the nation, and exercised, in the name of the titular king, what little paramount authority the turbulent minor rulers of districts and

Charles Martel.

towns could be persuaded or compelled to acknowledge. Engaged with his national competitors in perpetual conflicts for power, and in more serious struggles for safety against the fierce tribes of the unconverted Frisians, Bavarians, Saxons, and Thuringians, who at that epoch assailed with peculiar ferocity the Christianized Germans on the left bank of the Rhine, Charles Martel added experienced skill to his natural courage, and he had likewise formed a militia of veterans among the Franks.

His struggles for power and safety.

The Monkish chroniclers, from whom we are obliged to glean a narrative of this memorable campaign, bear full evidence to the terror which the Saracen invasion inspired, and to the agony of that great struggle. The Saracens, say they, and their king, who was called Abdirames, came out of Spain, with all their wives, and their children, and their substance, in such great multitudes that no man could reckon or estimate them. They brought with them all their armor, and whatever they had, as if they were henceforth always to dwell in France.

Great Saracen invasion.

"Then Abderrahman, seeing the land filled with the multitude of his army, pierces through the mountains, tramples over rough and level ground, plunders far into the country of the Franks, and smites all with the sword, insomuch that when Eudo came to battle with him at the river Garonne, and fled before him,

God alone knows the number of the slain. Then Abderrahman pursued after Count Eudo, and while he strives to spoil and burn the holy shrine at Tours, he encounters the chief of the Austrasian Franks, Charles, a man of war from his youth up, to whom Eudo had sent warning. There for nearly seven days they strive intensely, and at last they set themselves in battle array, and the nations of the North, standing firm as a wall, and impenetrable as a zone of ice, utterly slay the Arabs with the edge of the sword."

A seven days' battle.

The European writers all concur in speaking of the fall of Abderrahman as one of the principal causes of the defeat of the Arabs; who, according to one writer, after finding that their leader was slain, dispersed in the night, to the agreeable surprise of the Christians, who expected the next morning to see them issue from their tents and renew the combat.

They tell us how there was a war between the count of the Frankish frontier and the Moslems, and how the count gathered together all his people, and fought for a time with doubtful success. "But," say the Arabian chroniclers, "Abderrahman drove them back; and the men of Abderrahman were puffed up in spirit by their repeated successes, and they were full of trust in the valor and the practice in war of their emir. So the Moslems smote their enemies, and passed the river Ga-

The Arabian version.

ronne, and laid waste the country, and took captives without number. And that army went through all places like a desolating storm. Prosperity made these warriors insatiable. At the passage of the river, Abderrahman overthrew the count, and the count retired into his stronghold, but the Moslems fought against it, and entered it by force and slew the count; for everything gave way to their cimeters, which were the robbers of lives. All the nations of the Franks trembled at that terrible army, and they betook them to their king, Caldus, and told him of the havoc made by the Moslem horsemen, and how they rode at their will through all the land of Narbonne, Toulouse, and Bordeaux, and they told the king of the death of their count. Then the king bade them be of good cheer, and offered to aid them. And in the 114th year he mounted his horse, and he took with him a host that could not be numbered, and went against the Moslems. And he came upon them at the great city of Tours. And Abderrahman and other prudent cavaliers saw the disorder of the Moslem troops, who were loaded with spoil; but they did not venture to displease the soldiers by ordering them to abandon everything except their arms and war-horses. And Abderrahman trusted in the valor of his soldiers, and in the good fortune which had ever attended him. But (the Arab writer remarks) such defect of disci-

The country laid waste.

The Moslems without discipline.

pline always is fatal to armies. So Abderrahman and his host attacked Tours to gain still more spoil, and they fought against it so fiercely that they stormed the city almost before the eyes of the army that came to save it; and the fury and cruelty of the Moslems toward the inhabitants of the city was like the fury and cruelty of raging tigers.

The great struggle.

"Near the river Owar, the two great hosts of the two languages and the two creeds were set in array against each other. The hearts of Abderrahman, his captains, and his men, were filled with wrath and pride, and they were the first to begin the fight. The Moslem horsemen dashed fierce and frequent forward against the battalions of the Franks, who resisted manfully, and many fell dead on either side until the going down of the sun. Night parted the two armies; but in the gray of the morning the Moslems returned to the battle. Their cavaliers had soon hewn their way into the centre of the Christian host. But many of the Moslems were fearful for the safety of the spoil which they had stored in their tents, and a false cry arose in their ranks that some of the enemy were plundering the camp; whereupon several squadrons of the Moslem horsemen rode off to protect their tents. But it seemed as if they fled; and all the host was troubled. And while Abderrahman strove to check their tumult, and to lead them back to battle, the warriors of the Franks came around

Death of Abderrahman.

him, and he was pierced through with many spears, so that he died. Then all the host fled before the enemy, and many died in the flight. This deadly defeat of the Moslems, and the loss of the great leader and good cavalier Abderrahman, took place in the hundred and fifteenth year."

It would be difficult to expect from an adversary a more explicit confession of having been thoroughly vanquished than the Arabs here accord to the Europeans. The points on which their narrative differs from those of the Christians—as to how many days the conflict lasted, whether the assailed city was actually rescued or not, and the like—are of little moment compared with the admitted great fact that there was a decisive trial of strength between Frank and Saracen, in which the former conquered. The enduring importance of the battle of Tours in the eyes of the Moslems is attested not only by the expressions of "the deadly battle" and "the disgraceful overthrow" which their writers constantly employ when referring to it, but also by the fact that no more serious attempts at conquest beyond the Pyrenees were made by the Saracens. Charles Martel, and his son and grandson, were left at leisure to consolidate and extend their power. The new Christian Roman empire of the West, which the genius of Charlemagne founded, and throughout which his iron will imposed peace on the old anarchy

Significance of the victory.

of creeds and races, did not indeed retain its integrity after its great ruler's death. Fresh troubles came over Europe; but Christendom, though disunited, was safe. The progress of civilization, and the development of the nationalities and governments of modern Europe from that time forth went forward in not uninterrupted, but ultimately certain, career.

Christendom safe.

[In 749, the Magians of Persia fell, and the next six years saw the elevation of the Abbasides and the fall of the Ommiades. From 781 to 805, Haroun al Rashid warred against the Eastern Empire. Rome was attacked by the Lombards from 730 to 752, and was delivered by Pepin in 754. Twenty years later, Charlemagne conquered Lombardy. The years from 774 to 800 saw the final separation of the Popes from the Eastern Empire. Charlemagne was crowned Emperor of Rome and of the West in 800.]

THE CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE

(A.D. 800)

JAMES BRYCE

IT was toward Rome as their ecclesiastical capital that the thoughts and hopes of the men of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries were constantly directed. Yet not from Rome, feeble and corrupt, nor on the exhausted soil of Italy, was the deliverer to arise. Just when, as we may suppose, the vision of the renewal of imperial authority in the Western provinces was beginning to vanish away, there appeared in the furthest corner of Europe, sprung of a race but lately brought within the pale of civilization, a line of chieftains devoted to the service of the Holy See, and among them one whose power and heroic character pointed him out as worthy of a dignity to which doctrine and tradition had attached a sanctity almost divine.

The coming deliverer.

Since the invasion of Alboin, Italy had groaned under a complication of evils. The Lombards, who had entered along with that chief in 568, had settled in considerable numbers in the valley of the Po, and founded the

The Lombards.

duchies of Spoleto and Benevento, leaving the rest of the country to be governed by the exarch of Ravenna as viceroy of the Eastern crown. This subjection was, however, little better than nominal. Although too few to occupy the whole peninsula, the invaders were yet strong enough to harass every part of it by inroads which met with no resistance from the population, unused to arms and without the spirit to use them in self-defence. More cruel and repulsive, if we may believe the evidence of their enemies, than any other of the Northern tribes, the Lombards were certainly singular in their aversion to the clergy, never admitting them to the national councils. Tormented by their repeated attacks, Rome sought help in vain from Byzantium, whose forces, scarce able to repel from their walls the Avars and Saracens, could give no support to the distant exarch of Ravenna. The Popes were the Emperor's subjects; they awaited his confirmation, like other bishops; they had more than once been the victims of his anger. But as the city became more accustomed in independence, and the Pope rose to a predominance, real if not yet legal, his tone grew bolder than that of the Eastern patriarchs. In the controversies that had raged in the Church, he had had the wisdom or good fortune to espouse (though not always from the first) the orthodox side: it was now by another quarrel of religion that his deliv-

Harassing invaders.

erance from an unwelcome yoke was accomplished.

The Emperor Leo determines to abolish the worship of images.

The Emperor Leo, born among the Isaurian Mountains, where a purer faith may yet have lingered, and stung by the Mohammedan taunt of idolatry, determined to abolish the worship of images, which seemed fast obscuring the more spiritual part of Christianity. An attempt sufficient to cause tumults among the submissive Greeks, excited in Italy a fiercer commotion. The populace rose with one heart in defence of what had become to them more than a symbol; the exarch was slain; the Pope, though unwilling to sever himself from the lawful head and protector of the Church, must yet excommunicate the prince whom he could not reclaim from so hateful a heresy. Liudprand, king of the Lombards, improved his opportunity: falling on the exarch as the champion of images, on Rome as the minister of the Greek Emperor, he overran the one, and all but succeeded in capturing the other. The Pope escaped for the moment, but saw his peril; placed between a heretic and a robber, he turned his gaze beyond the Alps, to a Catholic who had just achieved a signal deliverance for Christendom on the field of Poitiers. Gregory II. had already opened communications with Charles Martel, mayor of the palace, and virtual ruler of the Frankish realm. As the crisis becomes more pressing, Gregory III. finds in the same

The Pope's peril.

quarter his only hope, and appeals to him, in urgent letters, to haste to the succor of Holy Church. Some accounts add that Charles was offered, in the name of the Roman people, the office of consul and patrician. It is at least certain that here begins the connection of the old imperial seat with the rising German power: here first the pontiff leads a political movement, and shakes off the ties that bound him to his legitimate sovereign. Charles died before he could obey the call; but his son, Pepin (surnamed the Short), made good use of the new friendship with Rome. He was the third of his family who ruled the Franks with a monarch's full power: it seemed time to abolish the pageant of Merovingian royalty; yet a departure from the ancient line might shock the feelings of the people. A course was taken whose dangers no one then foresaw: the Holy See, now for the first time invoked as an international power, pronounced the deposition of Childeric, and gave to the royal office of his successor, Pepin, a sanctity hitherto unknown; adding to the old Frankish election, which consisted in raising the chief on a shield amid the clash of arms, the Roman diadem and the Hebrew rite of anointing. The compact between the chair of Peter and the Teutonic throne was hardly sealed, when the latter was summoned to discharge his share of the duties. Twice did Aistulf the Lombard assail Rome, twice did Pepin de-

Friendship of the Frankish monarchs with Rome.

The compact.

scend to the rescue: the second time at the bidding of a letter written in the name of St. Peter himself. Aistulf could make no resistance; and the Frank bestowed of the Papal chair all that belonged to the exarchate in North Italy, receiving as the meed of his services the title of Patrician. Hence the phrase is always "Patricius Romanorum"; not, as in former times, "Patricius" alone: hence it is usually associated with the terms "defensor" and "protector." And since "defence" implies a corresponding measure of obedience on the part of those who profit by it, there must have been conceded to the new patrician more or less of positive authority in Rome, although not such as to extinguish the supremacy of the Emperor.

The title Patrician.

So long indeed as the Franks were separated by a hostile kingdom from their new allies, this control remained little better than nominal. But when on Pepin's death the restless Lombards again took up arms and menaced the possessions of the Church, Pepin's son Charles, or Charlemagne, swept down like a whirlwind from the Alps at the call of Pope Hadrian, seized King Desiderius in his capital, himself assumed the Lombard crown, and made northern Italy thenceforward an integral part of the Frankish Empire. Proceeding to Rome at the head of his victorious army, the first of a long line of Teutonic kings who were to find her love more deadly than her

Charlemagne conquers Lombardy.

hate, he was received by Hadrian with distinguished honors, and welcomed by the people as their leader and deliverer. Yet even then, whether out of policy or from that sentiment of reverence to which his ambitious mind did not refuse to bow, he was moderate in claims of jurisdiction, he yielded to the pontiff the place of honor in processions, and renewed, although in the guise of a lord and conqueror, the gift of the Exarchate and Pentapolis, which Pepin had made to the Roman Church twenty years before. Charles and Hadrian.

It is with a strange sense, half of sadness, half of amusement, that in watching the progress of this grand historical drama, we recognize the meaner motives by which its chief actors were influenced. The Frankish King and Roman Pontiff were for the time the two most powerful forces that urged the movement of the world, leading it on by swift steps to a mighty crisis of its fate, themselves guided, as it might well seem, by the purest zeal for its spiritual welfare. Their words and acts, their whole character and bearing in the sight of expectant Christendom, were worthy of men destined to leave an indelible impress on their own and many succeeding ages. Nevertheless, in them, too, appears the undercurrent of vulgar human desires and passions. The lofty and fervent mind of Charles was not free from the stirrings of personal ambition: yet these may be excused, if Charles ambitious.

not defended, as almost inseparable from an intense and restless genius, which, be it never so unselfish in its ends, must, in pursuing them, fix upon everything its grasp and raise out of everything its monument. The policy of the Popes was prompted by motives less noble. Ever since the extinction of the Western Empire had emancipated the ecclesiastical potentate from secular control, the first and most abiding object of his schemes and prayers had been the acquisition of territorial wealth in the neighborhood of his capital. He had, indeed, a sort of justification—for Rome, a city with neither trade nor industry, was crowded with poor, for whom it devolved on the Bishop to provide. Yet the pursuit was one which could not fail to pervert the purposes of the Popes and give a sinister character to all they did. It was this fear for the lands of the Church far more than for religion or the safety of the city—neither of which was really endangered by the Lombard attacks—that had prompted their passionate appeals to Charles Martel and Pepin; it was now the well-grounded hope of having these possessions confirmed and extended by Pepin's greater son that made the Roman ecclesiastics so forward in his cause. And it was the same lust after worldly wealth and pomp, mingled with the dawning prospect of an independent principality, that now began to seduce them into a long course of guile and intrigue. For this is

The policy of the Popes.

probably the very time, although the exact date can not be established, to which must be assigned the extraordinary forgery of the Donation of Constantine, whereby it was pretended that power over Italy and the whole West had been granted by the first Christian Emperor to Pope Sylvester and his successors in the Chair of the Apostle.

The donation of Constantine.

For the next twenty-four years, Italy remained quiet. The government of Rome was carried on in the name of the Patrician Charles, although it does not appear that he sent thither any official representative; while at the same time both the city and the exarchate continued to admit the nominal supremacy of the Eastern Emperor, employing the years of his reign to date documents. In 796, Leo the Third succeeded Pope Hadrian, and signalized his devotion to the Frankish throne by sending to Charles the banner of the city and the keys of the holiest of all Rome's shrines, the confession of St. Peter, asking that some officer should be deputed to the city to receive from the people their oath of allegiance to the Patrician. He had soon need to seek the Patrician's help himself. In 798, a sedition broke out: the Pope, going in solemn procession from the Lateran to the church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, was attacked by a band of armed men, headed by two officials of his court, nephews of his predecessor; was wounded and left for dead, and with diffi-

Attack on Pope Leo III.

culty succeeded in escaping to Spoleto, whence he fled northward into the Frankish lands. Charles had led his army against the revolted Saxons: thither Leo following overtook him at Paderborn in Westphalia. The King received with respect his spiritual father, entertained and conferred with him for some time, and at length sent him back to Rome under the escort of Angilbert, one of his trustiest ministers; promising to follow ere long in person. After some months, peace was restored in Saxony, and in the autumn of 799 Charles descended from the Alps once more, while Leo revolved deeply the great scheme for whose accomplishment the time was now ripe.

Dream of a Roman Empire.

Three hundred and twenty-four years had passed since the last Cæsar of the West resigned his power into the hands of the Senate, and left to his Eastern brother the sole leadership of the Roman world. To the latter Italy had from that time been nominally subject; but it was only during one brief interval between the death of Teia, the last Ostrogothic king, and the descent of Alboin, the first Lombard, that his power had been really effective. In the further provinces, Gaul, Spain, Britain, it was only a memory. But the idea of a Roman Empire as a necessary part of the world's order had not vanished: it had been admitted by those who seemed to be destroying it; it had been cherished by the Church; was still recalled by laws and cus-

toms; was dear to the subject populations, who fondly looked back to the days when slavery was at least mitigated by peace and order. We have seen the Teuton endeavoring everywhere to identify himself with the system he overthrew. As the Goths, Burgundians, and Franks sought the title of consul or patrician, as the Lombard kings when they renounced their Arianism styled themselves Flavii, so even in distant England the fierce Saxon and Anglian conquerors used the names of Roman dignities, and before long began to call themselves *imperatores* and *basileis* of Britain. Within the last century and a half the rise of Mohammedanism had brought out the common Christianity of Europe into a fuller relief. The false prophet had left one religion, one empire, one Commander of the Faithful: the Christian commonwealth needed more than ever an efficient head and centre. Such leadership it could nowise find in the Court of the Bosphorus, growing ever feebler and more alien to the West. The name of "respublica," permanent at the elder Rome, had never been applied to the Eastern Empire. Its government was from the first half Greek, half Asiatic; and had now drifted away from its ancient traditions into the forms of an Oriental despotism. Claudian had already sneered at "Greek Quirites": the general use, since Heraclius' reign, of the Greek tongue, and the difference of manners and

The aim of the Teuton.

Government of the Eastern Empire.

usages, made the taunt now more deserved.

Motives of the Pope.

The Pope had no reason to wish well to the Byzantine princes, who while insulting his weakness had given him no help against the savage Lombards, and who for nearly seventy years had been contaminated by a heresy the more odious that it touched not speculative points of doctrine, but the most familiar usages of worship. In North Italy their power was extinct: no pontiff since Zacharias had asked their confirmation of his election: nay, the appointment of the intruding Frank to the patriciate, an office which it belonged to the Emperor to confer, was of itself an act of rebellion. Nevertheless their rights subsisted: they were still, and while they retained the imperial name, must so long continue titular sovereigns of the Roman city. Nor could the spiritual head of Christendom dispense with the temporal; without the Roman Empire there could not be a Roman, nor by

Church and State.

necessary consequence (as men thought) a Catholic and Apostolic Church. For, as will be shown more fully hereafter, men could not separate in fact what was indissoluble in thought: Christianity must stand or fall along with the great Christian state: they were but two names for the same thing. Thus urged, the Pope took a step which some among his predecessors are said to have already contemplated, and toward which the events of the last fifty years had pointed. The moment

was opportune. The widowed Empress Irene, equally famous for her beauty, her talents, and her crimes, had deposed and blinded her son Constantine VI.: a woman, an usurper, almost a parricide, sullied the throne of the world. By what right, it might well be asked, did the factions of Byzantium impose a master on the original seat of empire? It was time to provide better for the most august of human offices: an election at Rome was as valid as at Constantinople—the possessor of the real power should also be clothed with the outward dignity. Nor could it be doubted where that possessor was to be found. The Frank had been always faithful to Rome: his baptism was the enlistment of a new barbarian auxiliary. His services against Arian heretics and Lombard marauders, against the Saracen of Spain and the Avar of Pannonia, had earned him the title of Champion of the Faith and Defender of the Holy See. He was now unquestioned lord of Western Europe, whose subject nations, Celtic and Teutonic, were eager to be called by his name and to imitate his customs. In Charles, the hero who united under one sceptre so many races, who ruled all as the vicegerent of God, the pontiff might well see, as later ages saw, the new golden head of a second image, erected on the ruins of that whose mingled iron and clay seemed crumbling to nothingness behind the impregnable bulwarks of Constantinople.

The Empress Irene.

Reasons for selecting Charlemagne.

Charlemagne in Rome.

At length the Frankish host entered Rome. The Pope's cause was heard; his innocence, already vindicated by a miracle, was pronounced by the Patrician in full synod; his accusers condemned in his stead. Charles remained in the city for some weeks; and on Christmas day, 800, he heard mass in the basilica of St. Peter. On the spot where now the gigantic dome of Bramante and Michelangelo towers over the buildings of the modern city, the spot which tradition had hallowed as that of the Apostle's martyrdom, Constantine the Great had erected the oldest and stateliest temple of Christian Rome. Nothing could be less like than was this basilica to those northern cathedrals, shadowy, fantastic, irregular, crowded with pillars, fringed all around by clustering shrines and chapels, which are to most of us the types of medieval architecture. In its plan and decorations, in the spacious sunny hall, the roof plain as that of a Greek temple, the long row of Corinthian columns, the vivid mosaics on its walls, in its brightness, its sternness, its simplicity, it had preserved every feature of Roman art, and had remained a perfect expression of Roman character. Out of the transept, a flight of steps led up to the high altar underneath and just beyond the great arch, the arch of triumph, as it was called: behind in the semicircular apse sat the clergy, *rising tier* above tier around its walls; in the

The Basilica.

midst, high above the rest, and looking down past the altar over the multitude, was placed the bishop's throne, itself the curule chair of some forgotten magistrate. From that chair the Pope now rose, as the reading of the Gospel ended, advanced to where Charles—who had exchanged his simple Frankish dress for the sandals and the chlamys of a Roman patrician—knelt in prayer by the high altar, and as in the sight of all he placed upon the brow of the barbarian chieftain the diadem of the Cæsars, then bent in obeisance before him, the church rang to the shout of the multitude, again free, again the lords and centre of the world, "Karolo Augusto a Deo coronato magno et pacifico imperatori vita et victoria." In that shout, echoed by the Franks without, was pronounced the union, so long in preparation, so mighty in its consequences, of the Roman and the Teuton, of the memories and the civilization of the South with the fresh energy of the North, and from that moment modern history begins.

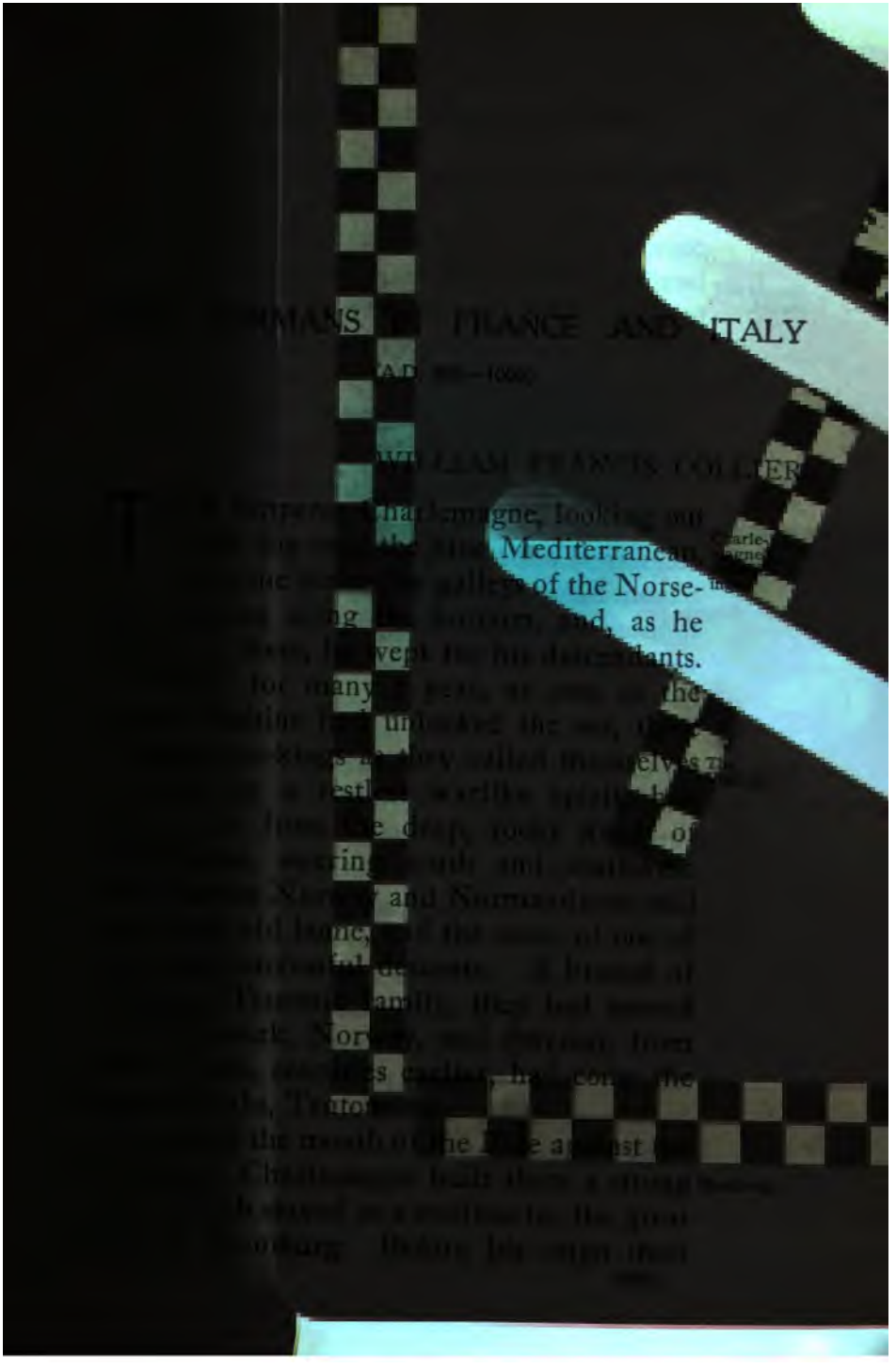
The coronation.

Union of Roman and Teuton.

[The Arabs subdue the isle of Crete in 823, and Sicily in 827. In 846, the Saracens invade Rome. In 827, Egbert, King of Wessex, acquires supremacy over the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. In 832, the first Danish fleet attacks the English coast. It is from this date the Vikings ravage the coasts for two centuries, and in some cases make permanent

conquests both in Great Britain and all Western Europe. In 983, Greenland was discovered and settled by Erik the Red. Vinland (America) was seen and visited by several Norsemen (986-1011.) In 871, Alfred the Great comes to the throne, and, after a struggle full of vicissitudes, delivers his kingdom for a time from the Danish invaders.]

Discovery of Greenland.



warlike fire had spent itself within the circle of their own lands. We read, in particular, of a desperate battle fought in 740, on the heath of Braavalla, between Harold Goldtooth the Dane, and Sigurd Ring the Swedish King. Harold, old and blind, died like a hero on the field; and Sigurd ruled in Scandinavia.

Harold and Sigurd.

But then, sweeping both shores of the North Sea, began their wider rangings, which have left deep and lasting marks upon European history. One of the earliest of these rovers, Regnar Lodbrok, Sigurd's son, seized by Saxon Ella, as he was ravaging Lindisfarne, shouted his war-song to the last, while snakes were stinging him to death in a Northumbrian dungeon.

Words can not paint the ferocity of these northern warriors. Blood was their passion; and they plunged into battle like tigers on the spring. Everything that could feed their craving for war they found in their religion and their songs. Their chief god, Odin, was the *beau idéal* of a Norse warrior; and the highest delight they hoped for in Valhalla, their heaven, was to drink endless draughts of mead from the skulls of their enemies. There was, they thought, no surer passport to heaven than a bloody death amid heaps of slain. And their songs, sung by *Skalds,* when the feast was over, and still heard among the simple fur-clad fishermen, who alone remain to represent the wild *Vikinger,* ring with clashing

Ferocity of the Vikings.

swords, and all the fierce music of battle to the death.

But into the very centre of this dark raging barbarism sparks of truth fell, which brightened and blazed until the fierce idolatry lay in ashes. Ansgar, the Apostle of the North, and first Archbishop of Hamburg, pressing with a few monks through fen and forest, early in the Ninth Century, preached the Cross at the court of Biörn, on the banks of the Maelarn. Ansgar.

England and France, as was natural from their position, suffered most in the descents of the Norsemen. During a part of the time that Harold Haarfager (Fair-haired) reigned in Norway (863 to 931), Alfred, king of Wessex, the mightiest of all the Norsemen's foes, was laying the foundation of British greatness. Little more than a century later, Alfred's crown passed to the Norseman Canute, and Norsemen wore it for twenty-four years. Then a little gap, and William, no longer a Norseman, but a Norman—mark well the change of name, for it denotes a deeper change of rough sea-kings into steel-clad knights—sat as Conqueror on the English throne, and set the wild Norse blood flowing down through the whole line of British sovereigns. Norse blood in British sovereigns.

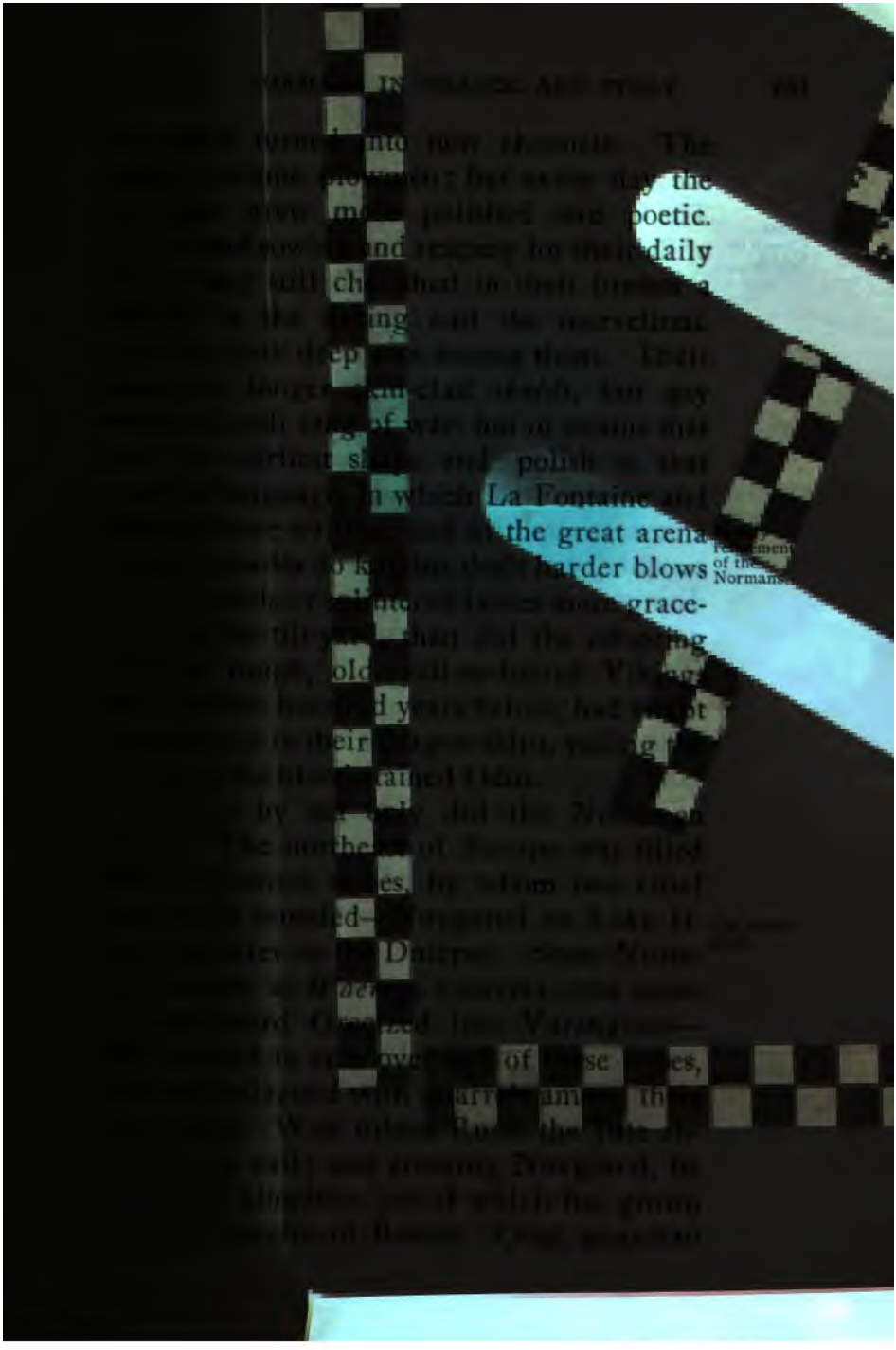
According to the Norse custom of piercing a land to the heart through its rivers, a swarm of boats, gilt and painted like dragons, pushed up the Seine in 901. The captain of these

pirates was Rolf Ganger, or Rollo. Seizing and fortifying Rouen, they made it the centre of a marauding warfare that lasted for years. Wherever a branch-stream met the main current, up they went to its very springs. New arrivals swelled the fleet; the discontented Frankish peasants flocked to Rouen; Paris was twice besieged. Charles the Simple, terror-stricken and helpless, yielded up, by a treaty concluded at St. Clair on the Epte, the rich fields of Normandy and Bretagne to Rollo, who, as duke of Normandy and peer of France, took an oath of fealty to him. Already another Norse chief, Hastings, noted for his dash upon England in Alfred's later years, had settled on French soil as Count of Chartres.

Rollo attacks Normandy, A.D. 911.

The infusion of Norse blood among the kings and people of England has just been noticed. Here then is the same fresh, vigorous stream flowing into France; and, certainly, of the many elements which have combined to make the French a great nation, this is not the least important. The old love of the salt waves still haunts *la belle Normandie,* from whose smiling fields have come the greatest admirals and best sailors of France. Rollo's men, marrying French wives, soon laid aside the rude Norse speech, except a few nautical words, which are still sung out by French captains to French crews. They began to speak the common French dialect. Their love of

The Norsemen settle down.



of Ruric's son, added much to the power of the Russo-Norsemen by the conquest of Kiev.

Greek Church in Russia.

The Christian worship, according to the forms of the Greek Church, was first made known in Russia under Olga, the daughter-in-law of Ruric; and it was formally adopted as the state religion by her grandson Vladimir I., who was baptized in 980. For 736 years (862-1598) Ruric's descendants, of whom the last was Feodor, filled the Russian throne.

Through Russia the Norsemen reached Constantinople; but thither they came not to conquer, but to defend. Vladimir having dismissed his Danish guard, they took service under the Byzantine emperors; and nowhere could be seen finer troops than these Varangian life-guards, with their dark bear-skins and glittering steel, the heavy broadsword swinging by their sides, and the two-edged axe poised on their shoulders. None but Scandinavians were at first allowed to enlist in their ranks; but, when William of Normandy scattered the Saxons at Hastings, some of the fugitives were admitted as recruits.

Normans in Southern Italy.

A few Norman pilgrims, returning in 1016 from the Holy Land, helped the Prince of Salerno in Southern Italy to repel an attack of Saracen pirates. Here then was a new field of warlike enterprise, where sharp swords were sure to bring a good price; and hither flocked over the Alps thousands of Norman adventurers. They at first took service under

the Byzantine emperors, whose *catapans,* or governors, were struggling to recover Sicily from the Saracens; but irritated at the mean rewards they received for hard fighting, they seized Apulia and Calabria for the balance due. Foremost in the warlike band were two brothers from Hauteville in lower Normandy —Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia, and Roger, Count of Sicily. Guiscard, a stalwart, handsome Norman, whose ruddy cheek and drooping mustache of golden flax almost won the heart of his fair foe, Anna Comnena, made two inroads upon Greece. In the first of these was fought the great battle of Durazzo, where, by a strange destiny, the Varangian life-guards of the Byzantine camp met their countrymen in battle, and were beaten. The conquest of Sicily from the Saracens was achieved by Roger, whose son of the same name was crowned first King of the fertile island. In less than a century, however, this Norman power in the south of Italy melted away, and the rough Norse warriors, having played out their part in history right well by giving new life to worn-out Europe, soon disappear from our view as a distinct nation.

Apulia and Calabria seized.

Norman power melts away.

THE BEGINNINGS OF RUSSIA

(A.D. 862)

ALFRED RAMBAUD

THE great barbaric invasions in the Fourth Century of our era formed a period of change and terrible catastrophe in Eastern Europe. The Goths, under Hermanaric, founded a vast empire in Eastern Scythia. The Huns, under Attila, overthrew this Gothic dominion, and a cloud of Finnish peoples, Avars and Bulgarians, followed later by Magyars and Khagars, hurried swiftly on the traces of the Huns. In the midst of this strife and medley of peoples, the Slavs came to the front with their own marked character, and appeared in history under their proper name. They were described by the Greek chroniclers and by the Emperors Maurice and Constantine Porphyrogenitus. They clashed against the Roman Empire of the East; they began the secular duel between the Greek and Slavonic races, a duel which is still being waged for the prize of mastery in the peninsula of the Balkans. Certain tribes formed a separate group among

Barbaric invasions of the Fourth Century.

the others, and received the name of the Russian Slavs. Nestor, the first Russian historian, a monk of Kief, of the Twelfth Century, has described their geographical distribution as it existed two hundred years before his time. The *Slavs,* properly so-called, inhabited the basin of the Ilmen, and the west bank of Lake Peïpus; their towns, Novgorod, Pskof, Izborsk, appear in the very beginning of the history of Russia. While the Slavs of the south paid tribute to the Khagars, the Slavs of Ilmen, exhausted by their divisions, decided on calling in the Varangians. "'Let us seek,' they said, 'a prince who will govern us and reason with us justly.' Then," continues Nestor, "the Tchouds, the Slavs (Novgorod), the Krivitches, and other confederate races, said to the princes of Varangia, 'Our land is great and fruitful, but it lacks order and justice; come and take possession and govern us.'"

The Slavs and their desire for new government.

Who were these Varangians? To what race did they belong? No questions in the early history of Russia are more eagerly debated.

The Varangians were Slavs, and came either from the Slav shores of the Baltic, or from some Scandinavian region where the Slavs had founded a colony. The word *Russia* is not of Swedish origin; it is applied very early to the country of the Dnieper. To come from *Rouss* or to go to *Rouss* are expressions

The Varangians.

to be met with in the ancient documents, and Rouss there signifies the country of Kief. Arabic writers give the name of Russians to a nation they consider very numerous, and they mean in this case, not Scandinavians, but indigenous Slavs.

Settlement among the Slavs.

The Varangians were not a nation, but a band of warriors formed of exiled adventurers, some Slavs, others Scandinavians. The partisans of this opinion show us the Slav and Scandinavian races from very early times in frequent commercial and political relations. The leaders of the band were generally Scandinavian, but part of the soldiers were Slav. This hypothesis, which diminishes the Norman element in the Varangians, serves to explain how the establishment of these adventurers in the country but little affected the Slavs of the Ilmen and the Dnieper. It explains, too, the rapid absorption of the newcomers in the conquered race, an absorption so complete that the grandson of Rurik, Sviatoslaf, already bears a Slav name, while his great-grandson, Vladimir, remains in the memory of the people as the type of a Slav prince. Whether the Varangians were pure Scandinavians, or whether they were mingled with Slav adventurers, it seems certain that the former element predominated, and we may identify these men from the North with the sea-kings so celebrated in the West during the decay of the Carolings. M. Samok-

vassof has lately opened, near Tchernigof, the *black tomb* containing the bones and arms of an unknown prince who lived in the Tenth Century, and was probably a Varangian. His coat-of-mail and pointed helmet completely resemble the arms of the Norman warriors. The Russian princes that we find in the early miniatures are clothed and armed like the Norman chiefs in the Bayeux Tapestry of Queen Matilda. It is therefore not surprising that, in our own age, art has made almost identical representations of Rurik on the monument lately erected at Novgorod and of William the Conqueror on the monument of Falaise.

Called in by the Slavs.

The spontaneous appeal of the Slavs to the Varangian princes may seem to us strange. We might believe that the annalist, like the old French historians, has tried to disguise the fact of a conquest, by representing that the Slavs submitted voluntarily to the Varangians of Rurik, as the Gauls are supposed to have done to the Franks of Clovis. In reality there was no conquest, a statement which is proved by the fact that the municipal organization remained intact, that the *vetché* continued to deliberate by the side of the prince, the local army to fight in conjunction with the band of adventurers.

As early as 859, the Varangians exacted tribute from the Slavs of Ilmen and the Krivitches, as well as the Tchouds. Vesses,

and Merians. The natives had once expelled the Varangians, but as divisions once more became rife among them, they decided that they needed a strong government, and recalled the Varangians in 862. Whether the name of *Russia* or of *Rouss* was originally derived from a province of Sweden, or from the banks of the Dnieper, the fact remains that with the arrival of the Varangians in Slavonia, the true history of Russia commences. It was the one-thousandth anniversary of this event that was commemorated at Novgorod in 1862. With the Varangians the Russian name became famous in Eastern Europe. It was the epoch of brilliant and adventurous expeditions; it was the heroic age of Russia.

The heroic age of Russia.

At the call of the Slavs, Rurik, Sineous and Trouvor, three Varangian brothers, whose Scandinavian names signify the *Peaceful,* the *Victorious,* and the *Faithful,* gathered together "their brothers and their families," that is, their warriors or *droujines* (resembling the *truste* of the Frank kings), crossed the Baltic and took up their position on the borders of the territory they were summoned to defend. Rurik, the eldest, established himself on the Lake Ladoga, near to which, on the southern side, he founded the city of Ladoga; Sineous on the White Lake (Biéloe-Ozéro), in the Vess country; Trouvor at Izborsk, to hold the Livonians in check. When the two latter died, Rurik established him-

The home of Rurik.

self at Novgorod, where he built, not a town, as Nestor would have us believe, but a castle. It is thus we must explain the pretended foundation by his orders of Polotsk and of Rostof, which had existed long before the arrival of the Varangians. What he probably did was to transform ancient *gorodichtchés* with ramparts of mud into fortresses. Two other Varangians, Askold and Dir, who were not of the family of Rurik, went down to Kief, and reigned over the Polians. It was they who began the expeditions against *Tzargrad* (Byzantium), the *queen of cities*. With two hundred vessels, says Nestor, they entered the Sound, in old Slav, *Soud* (the Bosphorus or the Golden Horn), and besieged Constantinople. But the patriarch Photius, according to the Byzantine accounts, took the wonder-working robe of Our Lady of Blachernes, and plunged it in the waves. A fierce tempest instantly arose, and the whole Russian fleet was destroyed.

Rurik goes to Novgorod.

Rurik's successor was not his son Igor, then a minor, but the *eldest* member of the family, his fourth brother, the enterprising Oleg. At the head of an army composed of Varangians, Slavs and Finns, he marched to the south, received the submission of Smolensk and Loubetch, and arrived under the walls of Kief.

Rurik's successor, Oleg.

By means of treachery Oleg took Askold and Dir prisoners, and put them to death, ob-

serving: "You are neither princes yourselves, nor of the blood of princes; this is the son of Rurik," pointing to Igor. The tomb of Askold is still shown near Kief. Oleg was charmed with his new conquest, and took up his abode there, saying, "Let Kief be the mother of Russian cities." The Varangian chief held communication both with the Baltic and the Black Sea by means of Novgorod, Smolensk, and Kief. He subdued the Novgorodians, the Krivitches, the Merians, the Drevlians, the Severians, the Polians, the Rodimitches, and thus united nearly all the Russian tribes under his sceptre. It was about this time that the Hungarians crossed the Dnieper near Kief, and invaded Pannonia. The Magyar chronicles speak of their having defeated Oleg; Nestor is silent on the subject.

Kief made the "Mother of Russian cities."

In 907, Oleg collected a large army from among the tributary races, equipped 2,000 boats, and prepared to invade Tzargrad by land and sea. Russian legends have embellished this expedition with many wonderful details. Oleg built wheels to his vessels, and spread their sails; blown by the wind they reached the gates of the city. Leo VI., the Philosopher, horror-stricken, agreed to pay tribute, but the Greeks tried to get rid of the Russians by offering them poisoned food. Oleg divined their perfidy. He imposed a heavy contribution, a commercial treaty ad-

Oleg's expeditions.

vantageous to the Russians, and suspended his shield on the Golden Door.

To his subjects Oleg was more than a hero. Terror-stricken by his wisdom, this "foolish and idolatrous people" looked on him as a sorcerer. In the Scandinavian sagas we find many instances of chiefs, such as Odin, Gylf and Raude, being at the same time great warriors and great magicians. It is strange that neither Greek, Frank, nor Venetian historians allude to this campaign. Nestor cites the names of the Russian envoys who negotiated the peace, and gives the text of the treaty.

Oleg's death predicted by sorcerers.

A magician had predicted to Oleg that his favorite horse would cause his death. It was kept apart from him, and when, five years after, the animal died, he insisted on being taken to see its body, as a triumph over the ignorance and imposture of the sorcerers. But from the skull of the horse issued a serpent which inflicted a mortal sting on the foot of the hero.

Expeditions of Igor, the son of Rurik.

Igor led a third expedition against Tzargrad. The Dnieper conducted, as it were of her own will, the Russian flotilla to the seas of Greece. Igor had 10,000 vessels according to the Greek historians, 1,000 according to the more probable calculation of Luitprand. This would allow 400,000 men in the first case, and only 40,000 in the second. Instead of attacking the town, he cruelly ravaged the Greek provinces. The Byzantine admirals and generals

united, and destroyed the Russian army in a series of engagements by the aid of Greek fire. Nestor has not copied the numerous details the Byzantine historians give of this battle, but we have the evidence of Luitprand, Bishop of Cremona, derived from his father-in-law, the ambassador of the King of Italy at Constantinople, who saw with his own eyes the defeat of Igor, and was present at the sacrifice of prisoners, beheaded by order of the Emperor Romanus Lecapenus. In 944, Igor secured the help of the formidable Patzinaks, and organized an expedition to avenge his defeat. The Greek Emperor, now seriously alarmed, offered to pay tribute, and signed a new commercial treaty, of which the text is given by Nestor. Byzantine and Western writers do not mention this second expedition of Igor. On his return from Russia, he was assassinated by the Drevlians, from whom he had tried to exact tribute. Leo the Deacon, a Greek writer, says he was torn in pieces by means of two young trees, bent forcibly to the earth, and then allowed to take their natural direction (945).

The Greek Emperor agrees to pay tribute.

Olga, widow of Igor, assumed the regency in the name of her son, Sviatoslaf, then a minor. Her first care was to revenge herself on the Drevlians. In Nestor's account it is impossible to distinguish between the history and the epic. The Russian chronicler relates in detail how the Drevlians sent two deputa-

Olga's revenge for the murder of Igor.

tions to Olga to appease her, and to offer her the hand of their prince, and how she disposed of them by treachery, burying some alive, and causing others to be stifled in a bathing-house. Next, says Nestor, she besieged their city, Korosthenes, and she offered them peace on payment of a tribute of three pigeons and three sparrows for each house. Lighted tow was tied to the tails of the birds, and they were set free. They flew straight home to the wooden town, where the barns and thatched roofs instantly took fire. Lastly, the legend relates that Olga massacred part of the Korosthenians, and the rest became slaves.

This vindictive Scandinavian woman, in spite of all, was destined to be the first apostle of Russia. Nestor relates that she went to Tzargrad to the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, astonished him by the strength and adroitness of her character, and was baptized under the name of Helen, the Greek Czar being her godfather. Olga, the apostle of Christianity.

The man destined to conclude the work of propagandism begun by Olga, did not at first seem fitted for this great task. Vladimir, like Clovis, was at first nothing but a barbarian—wily, voluptuous and bloody. Only while Clovis after his baptism is not perceptibly better than he was before, and becomes the assassin of his royal Frankish relations, the Russian annalist seems to wish to show a contrast between the life led by Vladimir prior to

his conversion and the life he led after it. We see in the popular songs of what a marvellous cycle of legends Vladimir has become the centre; but in these *bylinas* he is neither Vladimir, the Baptist, nor the Saint Vladimir of the orthodox Church, but a solar hero, successor of the divinities whom he destroyed. To the people, still pagans at heart, Vladimir is always the "Beautiful Sun" of Kief.

Vladimir, a solar hero.

CONSOLIDATION OF GERMANY BY HENRY I.

(A.D. 919—936)

SUTHERLAND MENZIES

THE accounts left us of the election of Henry are widely varied. If we follow those of the ancient writers, it would appear that the princes and nobles of Franconia, following the advice of Conrad, their late king, assembled at Fritzlar, at the commencement of the year 919, and chose for their king Duke Henry, in presence of the united Saxons and Franconians. It is true that a great many writers relate how the envoys who went to offer Henry the crown found him in his territories of the Harz, occupied at the moment of their arrival with snaring birds; from a fondness for which pastime he obtained the surname of *the Fowler* (*Henricus Auceps*). Whatever may have been the circumstances of his election, the Archbishop of Mainz offered to consecrate him king, but Henry declared it was sufficient that he was called to rule over Germany by God's grace and the choice of the people; and, therefore,

Henry I., the Fowler, A.D. 919-939.

he entreated the prelate to reserve the holy oil for some more pious monarch.

Internal dissensions.

Some internal dissensions troubled the beginning of his reign, but proved of little consequence; for the hopes of Otto the Illustrious and King Conrad were fulfilled, and Saxony and Franconia remained in amicable relation with one another. The Dukes of Swabia and Bavaria, on their return from Hungary, refused him obedience; but he recalled them promptly to their duty by force of arms, and retained them in it by the gentler power of words of peace, so that, in 921, all Germany obeyed King Henry; and after that date his empire was no further troubled by any intestine war; but it was only after fighting several battles that he conquered Lorraine, which always kept balancing between France and Germany. Later, he strengthened his union with it by giving his daughter, Gerberge, in marriage to its Duke, Giselbert; and, during seven centuries, that fine country remained reunited to Germany.

Lorraine reunited to Germany, A.D. 922.

Henry's foreign foes.

Henry was then able to occupy himself with his enemies without the realm, the Sclavonians and Hungarians. They thought themselves able to continue their manœuvres with the German states as formerly; but found, on their rencontre with Henry, an adversary who arrested them. On the first occasion, it is true, Henry was compelled to give way to their fury, and they carried their ravages into the

heart of Saxony. However, he had the good fortune, one day when he made a sortie upon them from the castle of Werle, near Goslar, to take prisoner one of the most distinguished of their princes; and, for his ransom, a suspension of arms was agreed upon for nine years, during which the Hungarians swore that they would not enter Germany. Probably they reckoned upon doubly recuperating themselves for the time thereby lost; but Henry employed so usefully those nine years in active preparations to meet the enemy, that when they returned, they found Germany quite changed.

Nine years' truce with the Hungarians, A.D. 923-932.

The Hungarians were entirely ignorant of the art of besieging fortified places; and when they were unable to make a rapid booty in an expedition, they did not willingly return. It was especially in his hereditary territories that Henry caused the fortresses and walled towns to be strengthened; for, accustomed to despise any defence save that of their swords and shields, the Germans had suffered the few strongholds they possessed to fall into ruin. But, in order to garrison those places, he decreed that every ninth man liable for military service should leave the cultivation of the soil, and join in the defence of the fortresses; that he should therein occupy himself with all the constructions necessary to offer, in case of invasion, a secure asylum; and that the rest should give for that purpose, annually, a third

of their agricultural produce, to be stored as provision for the garrison in time of danger.

Henry, after having passed some years in these preparations, resolved, in order to exercise his warriors, to reduce to reason the peoples bordering on Germany to the north and east; who, if they were not as formidable as the Hungarians, were not less hostile. He defeated the Sclavonians in the marches of Brandebourg, the Hevelles upon the Havel, and conquered Brennabourg (Brandebourg), which he besieged during a winter so severe that his army encamped upon the frozen Havel. He afterward subdued the Daleminziens who dwelt on the banks of the Elbe, from Meissen as far as Bohemia. Henry undertook also an expedition against the Bohemians, besieged their Duke Wenzeslas in Prague, his capital, and forced him to submission. Since then the kings of Germany have always demanded homage from the dukes of Bohemia.

Frontier campaigns, A.D. 928-929.

Meanwhile, the nine years' truce with the Hungarians had expired, and they sent a deputation into Germany to demand the ancient tribute which that country had shamefully paid them. But Henry, to show them in what contempt they were held by the Germans, sent to the deputies, by way of tribute, a mangy dog, with ears and tail cropped. It was an ancient custom, exceedingly insulting to those who received the gift. The bellicose Hungarians grew furious at it, and made their

preparations to wreak a terrible vengeance. Onward they marched next year (933) into Germany with two armies, thirsting for battle. One force, attacked by the Saxons and Thuringians, not far from Sondershausen, had its leaders slain, and was itself cut to pieces. The other, and the strongest force, on reaching the Saale, learned in the night the arrival of the king, and the destruction of their compatriots. The Hungarians, terror-stricken at the news, abandoned their camp, and lighted huge fires on the heights as signals to reassemble those who were dispersed in search of pillage. Henry, who overtook them next morning, having exhorted his soldiers in a few fiery words to avenge that day their devastated country, kinsmen massacred or carried into slavery, unfurled before them the banner of the Archangel Michael, and charged the Hungarians with the cry of *Kyrie eleison* (Lord have mercy!), which was echoed back by the terrible *Hui! Hui!* of the barbarians. After a bloody conflict the whole army of the invaders was either slain or put to flight; and Henry, falling on his knees, with all his soldiers, offered up a solemn thanksgiving to heaven for the victory. The anniversary of this deliverance from the Hungarians is still celebrated in the parish church of Keuschberg, and the name of King Henry acclaimed therein by all those assembled.

Sanguinary conflict with Hungarians, A.D. 933.

Henry offers thanks.

In 934, Henry covered himself with glory

Expedition against the Danes, A.D. 934.

in an expedition against the Danes, who were ravaging the coasts of the Frisons and Saxons. He entered their country at the head of his army, forced their King, Gorm, to make peace, established at Sleswig a strong barrier, and even founded a margraviat, which he peopled with a colony of Saxons. One of the members of the royal family was even converted to Christianity; either Knut the eldest, or perhaps Harold, the second son of Gorm. Thus Henry I., before the end of his glorious career, had the satisfaction of seeing those men of the North, who during a century had terrified Europe, retreat before him within their confines, and recognize his power.

REVIVAL OF THE IMPERIAL DIGNITY

(A.D. 962)

JAMES SIME

WHEN Henry had defeated all his enemies, he thought of going to Rome to claim the imperial crown; but he was never able to do so. In 935 he fell sick, and next year he died at Memleben. Before his death he had summoned a Diet at Erfurt, and got the nobles to promise that they would recognize his son Otto as his successor. Death of Henry I.

In accordance with the promise given to Henry by the nobles, Otto was elected and crowned king at Aachen in 936. He was twenty-four years of age when he began to reign, and had been married during his father's lifetime to Eadgyth or Edith, daughter of the English King Edward, and granddaughter of Alfred. Henry had added so much to the kingly power that at Otto's coronation the Dukes for the first time performed the nominally menial offices of the royal household. The Duke of Lotharingia acted Otto I.

as chamberlain; the Duke of Franconia as carver; and the Duke of Swabia as cup-bearer; and the Duke of Bavaria as master of the horse. In a short time, however, the Dukes of Franconia and Lotharingia joined Thankmar, Otto's half-brother, in a rebellion against the young King. Thankmar was soon slain; but his place was taken by the King's full brother Henry, who had always hankered after the crown. Otto fought bravely in defence of his rights, and he was at last victorious. The Dukes of Franconia and Lotharingia both fell, and Henry, after being several times forgiven, submitted. He received the duchy of Bavaria, which fell vacant in 945; and he greatly distinguished himself by his attacks on the Hungarians. Otto kept the Duchy of Franconia in his own hands, and gave that of Lotharingia to Count Conrad, who afterward married Luitgard, Otto's only daughter. When, in 949, Duke Hermann of Swabia died, Otto's son Ludolf, who had married Hermann's daughter, was appointed his successor. All the great Duchies were thus brought into the hands either of Otto himself or of members of his family, so that he became very powerful. He was by no means content to be a mere nominal King. The Dukes, although nearly related to him, knew, when doing homage for their Duchies, that he would insist on his rights to the uttermost, and that he had sufficient power to enforce them.

Early rebellions suppressed.

Otto no nominal King.

Otto was not only strong at home; he early made himself feared in other countries. He several times took part in the quarrels of the West Frankish kingdom, and helped his brother-in-law, King Lewis, against the Dukes of France and Normandy. The Danes won back for a time the territory which Henry the Fowler had conquered; but Otto made war on them, compelled Harold Blue Tooth to become his man, and set up the Mark of Schleswig for the defence of the German border. The Duke of Poland had also to do homage for his Duchy. From this time till the Thirteenth Century, Denmark and Poland were always looked on as fiefs of the German crown. Otto's Margraves, Hermann Billung and Gero, long fought bravely against the Slavs, and won Slavonic land—the former along the shores of the Baltic, the latter between the Middle Elbe and the Oder. In all lands conquered by him, Otto was careful to plant German colonies. He also founded bishoprics, and used every means to make the people Christian. In 968, he founded the archbishopric of Magdeburg.

Wars of Otto I.

In 951, an appeal was made to Otto on behalf of the beautiful Queen Adelheid, to whom Berengar, the Lombard King, wished to marry his son Adalbert. Otto went to Italy, and as his wife Edith had died six years before, he married Queen Adelheid. He took the title of King of the Lombards, but after-

Otto in Italy.

ward confirmed Berengar in the possession of Lombardy as his vassal. Soon after this Otto's son Ludolf, Duke of Swabia, rebelled; and he was joined by Conrad of Lotharingia, the Archbishop of Mainz, and other nobles. After much fighting the rebellion was at last put down. Otto gave the Duchy of Lotharingia to his brother, Bruno, Archbishop of Köln, and Swabia to Burchard, the son-in-law of Henry of Bavaria. William, Otto's eldest son, having entered the Church, was made Archbishop of Mainz.

Rebellion in Germany.

Taking advantage of the troubled state of Germany, the Hungarians had again begun to invade the country. In 955, they entered Bavaria in vast numbers. Otto had now put down Ludolf's rebellion, and was able to turn his whole strength against the enemy. A great battle was fought on the banks of the Lech, near Augsburg. Otto encouraged his troops by taking direct part in the battle, and he was bravely seconded by Conrad, who wished to wipe out the memory of his rebellion against his father-in-law. At last the Hungarians had to fly, and many thousands of them were slain. The victory was dearly bought, for Conrad and many other nobles fell. But the end was worth the sacrifice. By this victory Otto completed the work which his father had begun. The Hungarians now ceased to invade Germany, and till the Thirteenth Century their kings were usu-

Defeat of the Hungarians.

ally, at least in name, subject to the German kings.

In 961, Otto's young son Otto was crowned king in Aachen. The elder Otto then went to Italy, which had again fallen into confusion. During this second visit, he caused himself to be crowned King of Lombardy, and on February 2, 962, he was crowned Roman Emperor by the Pope. His three immediate predecessors on the German throne had been neither Kings of Lombardy nor Emperors; but from this time the German Kings claimed as their right both the Lombard and the imperial crowns. Otto and his successors thought very little of their royal as compared with their imperial title. They still remained German Kings; but after their coronation at Rome they were usually thought and spoken of only as Emperors. An Emperor held a much higher position than a mere feudal sovereign, and claimed from his subjects a more thorough submission.

Otto I. becomes Emperor.

The connection of the German kingdom with the Empire had many important results in Germany. Up to Otto's time there had been very little truly national feeling among the Germans. They thought of themselves as Franks, Saxons, Swabians, and so forth; hardly at all as a united people. But when their Kings acquired the right to be crowned Roman Emperors they themselves became the imperial race. They began, therefore, to take pride

Effects of the connection of Germany with the Empire.

Germany nationalized.

in the common German name. A feeling of nationality was thus aroused, which never afterward quite left the Germans even in their darkest periods. On the whole, however, Germany was not the better for its connection with the Empire. By being Emperors the Germans Kings became involved in struggles with which their native kingdom had nothing to do. They thus wasted much German blood and treasure; and they lost almost all real power. While they were absent, sometimes for years at a time, carrying on distant wars, their great vassals at home ruled as sovereign princes within their dominions. When the Emperors returned, and tried to assert their right as feudal Kings, they too often found that they had spent nearly all their strength, and could do very little against a united and powerful aristocracy. Germany was thus kept from growing up, like France and England, into a firm monarchy, and was in the end divided into many practically independent small states.

The last years of Otto's life were spent almost wholly in Italy, where he exercised to the full his imperial right. In 967, King Otto was crowned Emperor, and from that time reigned as "Co-imperator" with his father. He was married in 972 to Theophanô, the daughter of the Eastern Emperor Nicephorus. In the same year the elder Otto returned to Germany, where he died in 973.

Death of Otto I.

During his lifetime he had been called Otto the Great, and he deserved the title, for he began an important epoch in history and raised his country to a great height of splendor. His title.

DANISH CONQUEST OF ENGLAND

(A.D. 1002)

CHARLES KNIGHT

THERE had been no attack of the Danes since the reign of Athelstan. In 980, Sweyn, the banished son of the King of Denmark, was devastating the British shores. Where were now the three thousand six hundred ships with which Edgar, according to his absurd panegyrists, made annual progress round the coasts? In 980, Southampton was "ravaged by a ship force, and the most part of the townsmen slain and led captive. And that same year was Tanet-land ravaged." In 981, "was much havoc done everywhere by the seacoast, as well among the men of Devon as among the Welsh." In 982, "landed among the men of Dorset, three ships of pirates; and they ravaged in Portland. That same year London was burned." These are the simple notices of the Saxon Chronicle. There was no principle of resistance in the country, even to drive off the three ships that landed among the men of Dorset; for the men of Dorset, as other men, were quarrelling about the occupa-

Sweyn's devastations.

whose prejudices were those of his order, his sense and learning his own.

The history of England for the next quarter of a century is, in many respects, the most melancholy of its annals. It has been related in detail by modern historians; but it will be scarcely necessary for us to go through the dreary chapter of bloodshed, treachery, cowardice, and imbecility. It is impossible that a martial race should have become suddenly so weak; a free government so incapable; a loyal nobility so traitorous; a Christian people so cruel;—only because a timid and frivolous king had been set up to rule over them. Nor was it because peace, as it was called, had been in the land for an unusual period. There was no real peace, because there was no national concord. Wessex had not been in arms against East Anglia; nor Mercia against Northumbria. But there was enmity in the hearts of West Saxons, East Anglians, Mercians, and Northumbrians, against their own kindred. Foreign mercenaries, too, had been gradually settling under the encouragement of the peaceable king; and foreign ecclesiastics had been filling the religious houses of his ambitious minister. Under Ethelred, the private vices of the great chieftains took a new direction in public corruption. Treachery and rivalry were in the court and the camp. The army was undisciplined. Their "commanders, if ever they met to confer, immediately chose differ-

Internal dissensions.

ent sides, and rarely or never united in one good plan; for they gave more attention to private quarrels than to public exigencies." This looks like a passage of modern history; but it is from a chronicle of seven hundred years ago. It is well that we can not ascribe to recent times what is added by the old writer. "If in the midst of present danger they had resolved on any good plan, it was immediately communicated to the enemy by traitors." The impoverishment of the land was the inevitable result of the weakness and wickedness of its rulers. Again and again came the Danes; for they had found a more certain treasure in the Dane-geld—the tribute which the cowardice of the government levied upon the people—than in any casual plunder of towns and villages. In 991, they were bribed and bought off with ten thousand pounds of silver; in 994, with sixteen thousand; in 1001, with twenty-four thousand; in 1007, with thirty-six thousand; and in 1012, with forty-eight thousand. A pound of silver was worth about three pounds of modern money and would have purchased eight oxen, or fifty sheep. We may estimate the sufferings of the people in the payment of the Dane-geld, during twenty years, when we consider that one hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds were equal to six million seven hundred thousand sheep, or one million and seventy-two thousand oxen. The ordinary price of a hide of land was about

Treachery and treason.

Prices and values.

five pounds of silver, and thus one hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds of silver would have purchased twenty-six thousand eight hundred hides, each of which maintained a free man's family. Taking the hide of arable land, with its appurtenances of woods and common lands, at a hundred acres, this Danish tribute was equal to the fee-simple of all the land of Norfolk and Suffolk, or nearly one-tenth of the whole acreage of England. But, wherever they planted their feet, there the invaders would be fed. Famine followed in their steps. There is one unvarying record in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: "The king and his witan desired that they should be sent to, and promised *tribute and food.*" This record, which continues year after year, is occasionally varied by some notice of a gleam of public spirit, such as this: "And forces were often gathered against them; but so soon as they should have joined battle, then was there ever, through some cause, flight begun; and in the end they ever had the victory." What a picture does the following brief and simple narrative of this national ruin present of an imbecile government and of a divided people: "Then went they again to their ships with their booty. And when they went to their ships, then ought the forces again to have gone out against them until they should land; but then the forces went home; and when they were eastward, then were the forces kept west-

Famine and national ruin.

The Danes meet no opposition.

ward; and when they were southward, then were our forces northward. Then were all the witan summoned to the king; and they were then to counsel how this land might be defended. But although something might then be counselled, it did not stand even one month. At last there was no head-man who would assemble forces, but each fled as he best might; nor, at the last, would even one shire assist another."

Amid the misery and disgrace of this "heavy time," as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle calls this period, there is one event more terrible and full of shame than the weakness which yielded tribute, or the cowardice which fled from battle. There were many of the old Danish settlers in England who had become a part of the nation, with homes to protect as much as their Saxon neighbors. Many had intermarried with the older inhabitants. During these new assaults of their terrible countrymen, the Danes had probably become insolent and overbearing; so that "the common people were so of them oppressed, that for fear and dread they called them, in every house as they had rule of, Lord Dane." In 1002, Ethelred had married Emma, the sister of the Duke of Normandy. Immediately after his marriage, on the feast of St. Brice, the king issued orders for a massacre of the Danes within the district over which he had authority. On that terrible 13th of November, as bloody a tragedy was enacted

Period of shame and weakness.

The massacre of St. Brice.

As bloody a tragedy as ever enacted.

in this country as the history of religious persecution or national hatred can furnish in any country. The old writer we have just quoted says, that, "as common fame telleth, this murder began at a little town in Hertfordshire, within twenty-four miles of London, called Welwynne." This place is not far from the ancient boundary of the Saxon and Danish territory; and it is not unlikely that the people were much intermixed. The poet of the "Night Thoughts," who dwelt in this charming village, could have found no more solemn theme of death and woe than this sad history. Men, women, children, were indiscriminately butchered. The sister of Sweyn, the Northman, who was married in England, and had adopted the Christian faith, was among the victims. In the agony of her last hours the heroic Gunhilda warned her murderers that a terrible retribution would come upon England for this national crime. In less than a year Sweyn was in the land with fire and desolation.

The terrible retribution.

From the year 1003 to 1007, the retribution which Gunhilda had foreseen was going on. Devastation came after devastation, and tribute was exacted after tribute. The people in a brief time would pay no longer; and a bolder and wiser policy was adopted. A man in harness was to be provided upon every eight hides of land, and a vessel from every three hundred and ten hides. Out of the latter con-

tribution came the precedent for that claim for "ship-money," to the resistance of which claim we probably owe the power yet to build ships, and to man them, and to feel more secure through these bulwarks than if every landing-place were covered with walls of granite. But vessels of war, and men in harness, are worthless without brave and faithful leaders. A vast naval force, in 1009, was assembled at Sandwich. There were so many ships as were never before, according to the Chronicle. But there was a quarrel among the commanders, and a great wind cast the ships upon the land. "Then was it as if it had been all hopeless; and the king went his way home, and the ealdormen and the high witan, and thus lightly left the ships; and then afterward, the people who were in the ships brought them to London; and they let the whole nation's toil thus lightly pass away." At this period there was treachery on every side. There were minor traitors who were punished; but the great traitor, Alfric, who again and again betrayed his country, retained all his ancient power. There was another traitor, the King's favorite, Edric; who, after a series of intrigues against his weak master, finally joined the Danish forces with a large body of men, and assisted in the ravage of Canterbury. The one true and bold heart was to be found in Alphege, the Archbishop of Canterbury. He exhorted the people to defend their city; and

"Ship-money."

Ruin of the fleet.

One true and bold heart.

for twenty days there was a vigorous defence.

Notorious traitors.

But another traitor, by name Elfmar, secretly admitted the enemy. The Danes burned the city, and carried off the inhabitants as slaves. They demanded ransom if they spared the life of the primate; but he nobly said that he had no goods of his own to offer for ransom, and that the goods of the Church should not be given up for his own life. They dragged him from his squalid prison, and setting him in the midst of a company of drunken revellers, they threw their weapons at him, and the bones of their coarse banquet; and amid the cries of "Gold, Bishop, gold," he was struck to the earth, and the blow of an axe ended his sufferings.

Sweyn's invasion.

There came, at last, a fleet from Denmark —not for plunder or tribute, but for conquest. The chief devastator had been Thurkill, who, for three years, had been carrying on a predatory war on his own account. But, in 1012, having received a vast sum from Ethelred, he became a mercenary under the English. The King of Denmark came with his great fleet, decorated with all the tawdry devices of barbaric pomp, to carry on a war of extermination. His commands were to ravage the fields, to burn the houses, to put every male to the edge of the sword. Lighting his war-beacons wherever he went on his march from the Humber, he was at length under the walls of London. Ethelred and his Danish officer,

The Battle of Tolbiac

(DANISH CONQUEST OF ENGLAND. A.D. 1002)

words: "He would be to them a loving lord, and amend all those things which they all abhorred; and each of those things should be forgiven which had been done or said to him, on condition that they all, with one consent, would be obedient to him without deceit."

Recall of Ethelred.

Ethelred came home; and it was declared that "every Danish king should be an outlaw from England forever." But there was a Danish King in England who made little of empty words. The recall of Ethelred was, most probably, the act only of a part of the nation. Canute held possession of a large portion of the land. Edric, the ancient traitor, kept his

Edmund Ironside.

old power with his old guile. Edmund, the son of Ethelred, was well qualified by his bodily strength, which gave him the name of "Ironside," and by his energetic valor, to be that leader which the Saxon race had so long needed. Edric was circumventing Edmund at every step. In the meantime Canute was establishing his full claim to sovereignty. In the April of 1016, Ethelred died. The citizens of London proclaimed Edmund King. A council sitting at Southampton, which had previously decreed that every Danish King should be an outlaw, took the oaths to Canute. There was instant preparation for war on both sides. Canute had a great fleet in the Thames. Edmund marched boldly into Wessex, and was there accepted as King. He then raised the siege of London. Battle after battle ensued;

and the Ironside would have cleared the land of his enemies, but for that false confidence which had ruined his father. He trusted once more to Edric; and in the moment of victory, the betrayer, who had a command in the Saxon army, suddenly cried out, "Flee, English, flee; dead is Edmund." The English fled. Edmund and Canute agreed to divide the sovereignty. In a very short time Edmund died, and his death is attributed, reasonably enough, to the hand of Edric. Whether or not Canute had given greater "warrant" than "the winking of authority," it is recorded that when Edric came to urge rewards for service, Canute told him that a new lord could expect little fealty from one who had murdered his old lord; and that, upon this hint, Eric of Northumbria slew the traitor with his battle-axe.

Treason of Edric.

Canute the Dane is in 1017 sole King of England. He calls upon the witan to annul the division of the kingdom by declaring that Edmund had reserved no right of succession, and that Canute was to be the guardian of his children. This guardianship consisted in outlawing them. The infant boys were sent to the King of Sweden, with such intimation of the usurper's wishes as an unscrupulous prince would have readily acted upon. But the King of Sweden removed them to a safe asylum in Hungary. The children grew to manhood; and the younger, Edmund, became the father of Edgar Atheling, and of Mar-

Canute sole King of England.

garet, the Queen of Malcolm of Scotland. Edwy, the brother of the heroic King Edmund, was slain by command of Canute. There were two other claimants to the English throne, Edward and Alfred, the sons of Ethelred by his wife Emma of Normandy.

Claimants to the English throne

Their rights were asserted by their uncle Richard; but Canute settled the dispute by marrying their mother. His proscriptions of English nobles had no limit but his own will; and their forfeited property was bestowed upon his Danish instruments. Then was that tyranny at its height which so long rankled in the Saxon heart; and another day of St. Brice was dreaded by the lordly Northmen. A law imposed a fine upon any township where a Dane was killed. A Saxon might be murdered without such penalty. The Danish thanes were surrounded by their countrymen in the great cities. London, which had so stoutly resisted the intruders, received their yoke. We find many indelible traces of their presence in the land. A place of public assembly became the Danish "husting." The Northmen's saint, St. Olave, has given his name to London churches. "Knuts'-delfe" is the dike near the Peterborough marshes.

Character of Canute.

The impression of his character which Canute has left upon the English mind is not that of the barbarous conqueror. We can not say of him, as one of our great masters of English said of Alfred, "He left learning where he

found ignorance; justice, where he found oppression; peace, where he found distraction." But he came, with a powerful will, to make a foreign domination endurable by a show of impartiality and to substitute the strength of despotism for the feebleness of anarchy. When he ceased to be an enemy of England he became a real friend. His power was too strong to be disputed; and he therefore wielded it with moderation, after the contest for supremacy was fairly over. He, the Emperor of the Anglo-Saxons, as he chose to be called, was also King of Swedes, and Danes, and Norwegians. He was an unmitigated despot in his own half-Christian lands; but he adapted his English rule to the higher civilization of his most important kingdom. In 1030, he made a pilgrimage to Rome, with his staff and wallet; and amid the passes of the Alps, or beside the ruins of the Cæsars, he thought humbly of his past life, and made new resolves for his future career. His letter to "all the nations of the English," which he sent from Denmark after his return from Rome, has one passage which may make us believe that power and prosperity are not always corrupting: "And now, be it known to you all, that I have dedicated my life to God, to govern my kingdoms with justice, and to observe the right in all things. If, in the time that is past, and in the violence and carelessness of youth, I have violated justice, it is my intention, by

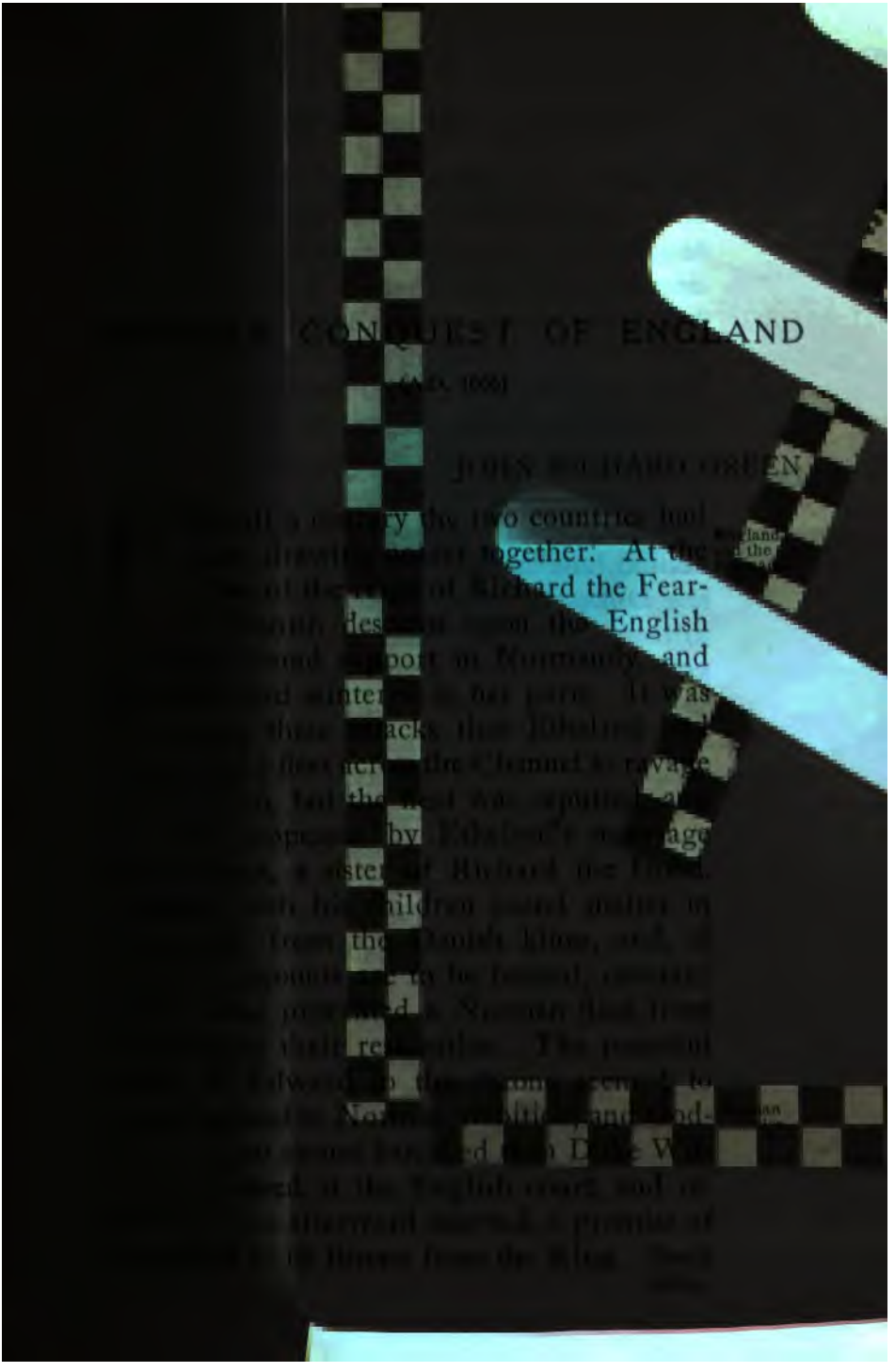
He makes a pilgrimage to Rome.

a promise, unconfirmed by the national assembly of the Wise Men, was utterly valueless, and for the moment Godwine's recall put an end to William's hopes. They are said to have been revived by a storm which threw Harold, while cruising in the Channel, on the French coast, and William forced him to swear on the relics of saints to support the Duke's claim as the price of his own return to England: but the news of the King's death was at once followed by that of Harold's accession, and after a burst of furious passion the Duke prepared to enforce his claim by arms. William did not claim the crown. He claimed simply the right which he afterward used when his sword had won it, of presenting himself for election by the nation, and he believed himself entitled so to present himself by the direct commendation of the Confessor. The actual election of Harold which stood in his way, hurried as it was, he did not recognize as valid. But with this constitutional claim was inextricably mingled his resentment at the private wrong which Harold had done him, and a resolve to exact vengeance on the man whom he regarded as untrue to his oath.

Harold's oath.

William's resentment.

The difficulties in the way of his enterprise were indeed enormous. He could reckon on no support within England itself. At home he had to extort the consent of his own reluctant baronage; to gather a motley host



a promise, unconfirmed by the national assembly of the Wise Men, was utterly valueless, and for the moment Godwine's recall put an end to William's hopes. They are said to have been revived by a storm which threw Harold, while cruising in the Channel, on the French coast, and William forced him to swear on the relics of saints to support the Duke's claim as the price of his own return to England: but the news of the King's death was at once followed by that of Harold's accession, and after a burst of furious passion the Duke prepared to enforce his claim by arms. William did not claim the crown. He claimed simply the right which he afterward used when his sword had won it, of presenting himself for election by the nation, and he believed himself entitled so to present himself by the direct commendation of the Confessor. The actual election of Harold which stood in his way, hurried as it was, he did not recognize as valid. But with this constitutional claim was inextricably mingled his resentment at the private wrong which Harold had done him, and a resolve to exact vengeance on the man whom he regarded as untrue to his oath.

Harold's oath.

William's resentment.

The difficulties in the way of his enterprise were indeed enormous. He could reckon on no support within England itself. At home he had to extort the consent of his own *reluctant* baronage; to gather a motley host

from every quarter of France, and to keep it together for months; to create a fleet, to cut down the very trees, to build, to launch, to man the vessels; and to find time amid all this for the common business of government, for negotiations with Denmark and the Empire, with France, Britanny, and Anjou, with Flanders and with Rome. His rival's difficulties were hardly less than his own. Harold was threatened with invasion not only by William but by his brother Tostig, who had taken refuge in Norway and secured the aid of its king, Harald Hardrada. The fleet and army he had gathered lay watching for months along the coast. His one standing force was his body of hus-carls, but their numbers only enabled them to act as the nucleus of an army. On the other hand, the Land-fyrd, or general levy of fighting-men, was a body easy to raise for any single encounter, but hard to keep together. To assemble such a force was to bring labor to a standstill. The men gathered under the King's standard were the farmers and plowmen of their fields. The ships were the fishing-vessels of the coast. In September the task of holding them together became impossible, but their dispersion had hardly taken place when the two clouds which had so long been gathering burst at once upon the realm. A change of wind released the landlocked armament of William; but before changing,

Difficulties confronting the rivals.

the wind which prisoned the Duke had flung the host of Harald Hardrada on the coast of Yorkshire. The King hastened with his household troops to the north, and repulsed the invaders in a decisive overthrow at Stamford Bridge, in the neighborhood of York; but ere he could hurry back to London the Norman host had crossed the sea, and William, who had anchored on the 28th off Pevensey, was ravaging the coast to bring his rival to an engagement. His merciless ravages succeeded, as they were intended, in drawing Harold from London to the south; but the King wisely refused to attack with the forces he had hastily summoned to his banner. If he were forced to give battle, he resolved to give it on ground he had himself chosen, and advancing near enough to the coast to check William's ravages, he intrenched himself on a hill known afterward as that of Senlac, a low spur of the Sussex Downs near Hastings. His position covered London, and drove William to concentrate his forces. With a host subsisting by pillage, to concentrate is to starve; and no alternative was left to William but a decisive victory or ruin.

Battle of Stamford Bridge.

Along the higher ground that leads from Hastings the Duke led his men in the dim dawn of an October morning to the mound of Telham. It was from this point that the Normans saw the host of the English gath-

The battle of Senlac, Oct. 14.

ered thickly behind a rough trench and a stockade on the height of Senlac. Marshy ground covered their right; on the left, the most exposed part of the position, the hus-carls or body-guard of Harold, men in full armor and wielding huge axes, were grouped round the Golden Dragon of Wessex and the standard of the King. The rest of the ground was covered by thick masses of half-armed rustics who had flocked at Harold's summons to the fight with the stranger. It was against the centre of this formidable position that William arrayed his Norman knighthood, while the mercenary forces he had gathered in France and Britanny were ordered to attack its flanks. A general charge of the Norman foot opened the battle; in front rode the minstrel Taillefer, tossing his sword in the air and catching it again while he chanted the song of Roland. He was the first of the host who struck a blow, and he was the first to fall. The charge broke vainly on the stout stockade behind which the English warriors plied axe and javelin with fierce cries of "Out, out," and the repulse of the Norman footmen was followed by a repulse of the Norman horse. Again and again the Duke rallied and led them to the fatal stockade. All the fury of fight that glowed in his Norseman's blood, all the headlong valor that had spurred him over the slopes of Val-ès-dunes, mingled that day with the coolness of head, the dogged per-

Taillefer, the minstrel

severance, the inexhaustible faculty of resource which had shone at Mortemer and Varaville. His Breton troops, entangled in the marshy ground on his left, broke in disorder, and as panic spread through the army a cry arose that the Duke was slain. "I live," shouted William, as he tore off his helmet, "and by God's help will conquer yet." Maddened by repulse, the Duke spurred right at the standard; unhorsed, his terrible mace struck down Gyrth, the King's brother; again dismounted, a blow from his hand hurled to the ground an unmannerly rider who would not lend him his steed. Amid the roar and tumult of the battle he turned the flight he had arrested into the means of victory. Broken as the stockade was by his desperate onset, the shield-wall of the warriors behind it still held the Normans at bay till William by a feint of flight drew a part of the English force from their post of vantage. Turning on his disorderly pursuers, the Duke cut them to pieces, broke through the abandoned line, and made himself master of the central ground. Meanwhile the French and Bretons made good their ascent on either flank. At three the hill seemed won, at six the fight still raged around the standard, where Harold's hus-carls stood stubbornly at bay on a spot marked afterward by the high altar of Battle Abbey. An order from the Duke at last brought his archers to the front, and their

William's heroic efforts.

His ruse.

arrow-flight told heavily on the dense masses crowded around the King. As the sun went down a shaft pierced Harold's right eye; he fell between the royal ensigns, and the battle closed with a desperate melly over his corpse. While night covered the flight of the English, the conqueror pitched his tent on the very spot where his rival had fallen, and "sate down to eat and drink among the dead."

Death of Harold.

Securing Romney and Dover, the Duke marched by Canterbury upon London. Faction and intrigue were doing his work for him as he advanced. Harold's brothers had fallen with the King on the field of Senlac, and there was none of the house of Godwine to contest the crown; while of the old royal line there remained but a single boy, Edgar the Atheling, son of the eldest of Edmund Ironside's children, who had fled before Cnut's persecution as far as Hungary for shelter. Boy as he was, he was chosen king; but the choice gave little strength to the national cause. The widow of the Confessor surrendered Winchester to the Duke. The bishops gathered at London inclined to submission. The citizens themselves faltered as William, passing by their walls, gave Southwark to the flames. The throne of the boy-king really rested for support on the Earls of Mercia and Northumbria, Edwine and Morkere; and William, crossing the Thames at Wallingford and marching into Hertfordshire, threatened to

Edgar Atheling is chosen king.

cut them off from their earldoms. The masterly movement brought about an instant submission. Edwine and Morkere retreated hastily home from London, and the city gave way at once. Edgar himself was at the head of the deputation who came to offer the crown to the Norman Duke. "They bowed to him," says the English annalist pathetically, "for need." They bowed to the Norman as they had bowed to the Dane, and William accepted the crown in the spirit of Cnut. London indeed was secured by the erection of a fortress which afterward grew into the Tower, but William desired to reign not as a conqueror but as a lawful king. He received the crown at Westminster from the hands of Archbishop Eldred, amid shouts of "Yea, Yea," from his new English subjects. Fines from the greater landowners atoned for a resistance which was now counted as rebellion; but with this exception every measure of the new sovereign indicated his desire of ruling as a successor of Edward or Alfred. As yet indeed the greater part of England remained quietly aloof from him, and he can hardly be said to have been recognized as king by Northumberland or the greater part of Mercia. But to the east of a line which stretched from Norwich to Dorsetshire his rule was unquestioned, and over this portion he ruled as an English king. His soldiers were kept in strict order. No change was

William receives the crown.

made in law or custom. The privileges of London were recognized by a royal writ which still remains, the most venerable of its muniments, among the city's archives. Peace and order were restored. William even attempted, though in vain, to learn the English tongue that he might personally administer justice to the suitors in his court. The kingdom seemed so tranquil that only a few months had passed after the battle of Senlac when William, leaving England in charge of his brother, Odo Bishop of Bayeux, and his minister, William Fitz-Osbern, returned for a while to Normandy.

General submission.

[Under Henry III. "the Black" (1039-1056), the imperial power was at its highest point. He helped to introduce the *Treuga Dei,* or "Truce of God," which was first introduced by the clergy in 1034. In 1046, Henry undertook an expedition to Rome, where he caused a synod to depose three rival popes—Sylvester III., Benedict IX., and Gregory VI.—and appointed the Bishop of Bamberg Pope as Clement II., who crowned him Emperor at Christmas. The three succeeding popes were also appointed by Henry. His son, Henry IV., also interfered in the affairs of Italy. In 1073, Hildebrand became Pope as Gregory VII., and immediately the Empire and the Papacy became embroiled on the question of investitures.]

"Truce of God."

EMPIRE *VS.* PAPACY: HENRY IV. AT CANOSSA

(A.D. 1076)

T. F. TOUT

HENRY IV.'s reign now really began. A thorough Swabian, his favorite ministers were Swabians of no high degree, and he had no faith in the goodwill or loyalty of the men of the north. He had kept vacant the Saxon dukedom. On every hill-top of Saxony and Thuringia he built strong castles, whose lawless garrisons plundered and outraged the peasantry. There was ever fierce ill-will between northern and southern Germany during the Middle Ages. The policy of the southern Emperor soon filled the north with anger, and the Saxon nobles prepared for armed resistance. In 1073, Henry fitted out an expedition whose professed destination was against the Poles. It was believed in Saxony that his real object was to subdue the Saxons and hand them over to the Swabians. Accordingly in the summer of 1073 a general Saxon revolt broke out, headed by the natural leaders of Saxony, both in Church

The Saxon revolt.

and State, including the Archbishop of Magdeburg, the deposed Duke Otto of Bavaria, and the fierce Margrave Dedi, already an unsuccessful rebel. The insurgents demanded the instant demolition of the castles, the dismissal of Henry's evil counsellors, and the restitution of their lands that he had violently seized. On receiving no answer, they shut up Henry in the strong castle of Harzburg, whence he escaped with the utmost difficulty to the friendly cloister of Hersfeld. In the course of the summer the rebels destroyed many of the new castles. The levies summoned for the Polish campaign refused to turn their arms against the Saxons, and Henry saw himself powerless amid the general falling away.

Henry imprisoned at Harzburg.

A meeting at Gerstungen, where Henry's friends strove to mediate with the rebels, led to a suggestion that the king should be deposed. Only at Worms and in the Swabian cites did Henry receive any real support. He gathered together a small army and strove to fight a winter campaign against the Saxons, but failed so completely that he was forced to accept their terms. However, hostilities were renewed in 1075, when Henry won a considerable victory at Hohenburg on the Unstrut, and forced the Saxons to make an unconditional submission. Otto of Nordheim, the Archbishop of Magdeburg, and the other leaders were imprisoned. On the ruins of

Saxon liberty Henry now aspired to build up a despotism.

Pope Hildebrand

Hildebrand was now pope. During the funeral service of Alexander II. at St. John's in the Lateran, a great shout arose from the multitude in the church that Hildebrand should be their bishop. The Cardinal, Hugh the White, addressed the assembly. "You know, brethren," he said, "how, since the time of Leo IX., Hildebrand has exalted the Roman Church, and freed our city. We can not find a better pope than he. Indeed, we can not find his equal. Let us then elect him, who, having been ordaind in our church, is known to us all, and thoroughly approved by us." There was the great shout in answer: "Saint Peter has chosen Hildebrand to be Pope!" In spite of his resistance, Hildebrand was dragged to the church of St. Peter ad Vincula, and immediately enthroned. The cardinals had no mind to upset this irregular election, strangely contrary though it was to the provisions of Nicholas II. The German bishops, alarmed at Hildebrand's reputation for severity, urged the King to quash the appointment, but Henry contented himself with sending to Rome to inquire into the circumstances of the election. Hildebrand showed great moderation, and actually postponed his consecration until Henry's consent had been obtained. This, Henry had no wish to withhold. On June 29, 1073, Hildebrand was hal-

The election irregular.

lowed bishop. By assuming the name of Gregory VII., he proclaimed to the world the invalidity of the deposition of his old master at the Synod of Sutri.

The wonderful self-control which the new Pope had shown so long did not desert him in his new position. Physically, there was little to denote the mighty mind within his puny body. He was of low stature, short-legged and corpulent. He spoke with a stammer, and his dull complexion was only lighted up by his glittering eyes. He was not a man of much learning or originality, and contributed little toward the theory of the papal or sacerdotal power. But he was one of the greatest practical men of the Middle Ages; and his single-minded wish to do what was right betokened a dignity of moral nature that was rare indeed in the Eleventh Century. His power over men's minds was enormous, even to their own despite. The fierce and fanatical Peter Damiani called him his "holy Satan." "Thy will," said he, "has ever been a command to me—evil but lawful. Would that I had always served God and St. Peter as faithfully as I have served thee." Even as archdeacon he assumed so great a state, and lived in such constant intercourse with the world, that monastic zealots like Damiani were scandalized, and some moderns have questioned (though groundlessly) whether he was ever a professed monk at all. Profoundly con-

Infirmities of Gregory VII.

His power over men's minds.

His policy.

vinced of the truth of the Cluniac doctrines, he showed a fierce and almost unscrupulous statecraft in realizing them that filled even Cluny with alarm. His ideal was to reform the world by establishing a sort of universal monarchy for the Papacy. He saw all round him that kings and princes were powerless for good, but mighty for evil. He saw churchmen living greedy and corrupt lives for want of higher direction and control. Looking at a world distraught by feudal anarchy, his ambition was to restore the "peace of God," civilization, and order, by submitting the Church to the Papacy, and the world to the Church. "Human pride," he wrote, "has created the power of kings; God's mercy has created the power of bishops. The Pope is the master of emperors. He is rendered holy by the merits of his predecessor, St. Peter. The Roman Church has never erred, and Holy Scripture proves that it never can err. To resist it is to resist God." For the next twelve years he strove with all his might to make his power felt throughout Christendom. Sometimes his enthusiasm caused him to advance claims that even his best friends would not admit, as when William the Conqueror was constrained to repudiate the Holy See's claims of feudal sovereignty over England, which, after similar pretensions had been recognized by the Normans in Sicily, Gregory and his successors were prone to assert whenever opportunity of-

His influence.

fered. The remotest parts of Europe felt the weight of his influence. But the intense conviction of the righteousness of his aims, that made compromise seem to him treason to the truth, did something to detract from the success of his statecraft. He was too absolute, too rigid, too obstinate, too extreme to play his part with entire advantage to himself and his cause. Yet with all his defects there is no grander figure in history.

Gregory realized the magnitude of his task, but he never shrank from it. "I would that you knew," wrote he to the Abbot of Cluny, "the anguish that assails my soul. The Church of the East has gone astray from the Catholic faith. If I look to the west, the north, or the south, I find but few bishops whose appointments and whose lives are in accordance with the laws of the Church, or who govern God's people through love and not through worldly ambition. Among princes I know not one who sets the honor of God before his own, or justice before gain. If I did not hope that I could be of use to the Church, I would not remain at Rome a day." From the very first he was beset on every side with difficulties. Even the alliance with the Normans was uncertain. Robert Guiscard, with his brother Roger, waged war against Gregory's faithful vassal, Richard of Capua; and Robert, who threatened the papal possession of Benevento, went so far that he incurred excommunication.

His difficulties.

Philip of France, "the worst of the tyrants who enslaved the Church," had to be threatened with interdict. A project to unite the Eastern with the Western Church broke down lamentably. A contest with Henry IV. soon became inevitable. But Gregory abated nothing of his high claims. In February, 1075, he held a synod at Rome, at which severe decrees against simony and the marriage of clerks were issued. The practice of lay investiture, by which secular princes were wont to grant bishoprics and abbeys by the conferring of spiritual symbols such as the ring and staff, had long been regarded by the Cluniacs as the most glaring of temporal aggressions against the spiritual power. This practice was now sternly forbidden. "If any one," declared the synod, "henceforth receive from the hand of any lay person a bishopric or abbey, let him not be considered as abbot or bishop, and let the favor of St. Peter and the gate of the Church be forbidden to him. If an emperor, a king, a duke, a count, or any other lay person presume to give investiture of any ecclesiastical dignity, let him be excommunicated." This decree gave the signal for the great Investiture Contest, and for the greater struggle of Papacy and Empire that convulsed Europe, save during occasional breaks, for the next two centuries.

The practice of lay investitures forbidden.

Up to the issue of the decree as to investitures, the relation between Gregory and Henry

IV. had not been unfriendly. Henry had admitted that he had not always respected the rights of the Church, but had promised amendment for the future. But to give up investitures would have been to change the whole imperial system of government. He was now freed, by his victory at Hohenburg, from the Saxon revolt. The German bishops, afraid of the Pope's strictness, encouraged his resistance, and even in Italy he had many partisans. The Patarini were driven out of Milan, and Henry scrupled not to invest a new archbishop with the see of St. Ambrose. Even at Rome, Gregory barely escaped assassination while celebrating mass. In January, 1076, Henry summoned a German council to Worms. Strange and incredible crimes were freely attributed to the Pope, and the majority of the German bishops pronounced him deposed. Henry himself wrote in strange terms to the Pope: "Henry, king not by usurpation but by God's grace, to Hildebrand, henceforth no pope but false monk,—Christ has called us to our kingdom, while he has never called thee to the priesthood. Thou hast attacked me, a consecrated king, who can not be judged but by God himself. Condemned by our bishops and by ourselves, come down from the place that thou hast usurped. Let the see of St. Peter be held by another, who will not seek to cover violence under the cloak of religion, and who will teach the wholesome doctrine of St.

Relations between Pope and Emperor.

Henry's letter to the Pope.

Peter. I, Henry, king by the grace of God, with all of my bishops, say unto thee—'Come down, come down.' "

In February, 1076, Gregory held a great synod in the Vatican, at which the Empress Agnes was present, with a great multitude of Italian and French bishops. A clerk from Parma named Roland delivered the King's letter to the Pope before the council. There was a great tumult, and Roland would have atoned for his boldness with his life but for the Pope's personal intervention. Henry was now formally excommunicated and deposed. "Blessed Peter," declared Gregory, "thou and the Mother of God and all the saints are witness that the Roman Church has called upon me to govern it in my own despite. As thy representative I have received from God the power to bind and to loose in heaven and on earth. For the honor and security of thy Church, in the name of God Almighty, I prohibit Henry the King, son of Henry the Emperor, who has risen with unheard-of pride against thy Church, from ruling Germany and Italy. I release all Christians from the oaths of fealty they may have taken to him, and I order that no one shall obey him."

Henry excommunicated and deposed.

War was thus declared between Pope and King. Though the position of both parties was sufficiently precarious, Henry was at the moment in the worst position for carrying on an internecine combat. He could count very

[illegible] support [illegible] his German subjects. [illegible] most [illegible] the Pope were the [illegible] [illegible] the simoniacs, whose [illegible] was [illegible] loyalty less. The [illegible] and [illegible] were all against him. The Saxons [illegible] embarrassments to renew their [illegible] closed his garrisons out of [illegible] The secular nobles, who saw in [illegible] beginnings of an attempt at [illegible] held aloof from the court. It was [illegible] that Henry answered the anathe- [illegible] Gregory with denunciations equally [illegible] and [illegible] that Gregory [illegible] to unite in his hands both the [illegible] and the temporal swords that God [illegible] Hermann, Bishop of Metz, [illegible] of Germany, ably [illegible] At last, the nobles and [illegible] Germany gathered together [illegible] Tribur, where the papal [illegible] treated with marked deference [illegible] Henry took up his quarters at Oppen- [illegible] other bank of the Rhine, afraid [illegible] himself amid his disaffected subjects. [illegible] saw that he had no alternative but [illegible] The magnates were so suspicious [illegible] it needed the personal interces- [illegible] Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, to prevail upon [illegible] make terms with him at all. Finally [illegible] agreement was patched up, [illegible] conditions excessively humiliating to [illegible] The barons refused to obey him un-

til he had obtained absolution from the Pope, who, moreover, had promised to go to Germany in person and hold a council in the succeeding February. Pending this, Henry was to remain at Speyer without kingly revenue, power, or dignity, and still shut off by his excommunication from the offices of the Church. If Henry could not satisfy the Pope in February, he was to be regarded as deposed.

His desperate circumstances.

Abandoned by Germany, Henry abode some two months at Speyer, gloomily anticipating the certain ruin to his cause that would follow the Pope's appearance in a German council. He realized that he could do nothing unless he reconciled himself to Gregory; and, hearing good news of his prospects in northern Italy, thought that his best course was to betake himself over the Alps, where the Pope might well prove less rigorous, if he found him at the head of a formidable band of Italian partisans. It was a winter of extraordinary severity, but any risks were better than inglorious inaction at Speyer. Accordingly, Henry broke his compact with his nobles, and toward the end of December secretly set out on his journey southward. He was accompanied by Bertha and his little son, but only one German noble was included among his scanty following. He traversed Burgundy, and kept his miserable Christmas feast at Besançon. Thence crossing the Mont Cenis at the risk of his life, he appeared early in the new year amid his Lom-

bard partisans at Pavia. But though urged to take up arms, Henry feared the risks of a new and doubtful struggle. Germany could only be won back by submission. He resolved to seek out the Pope and throw himself on his mercy.

Henry resolves to ask the Pope's mercy.

Gregory was then some fifteen miles south of Reggio, at an impregnable mountain stronghold belonging to the Countess Matilda, called Canossa, which crowned one of the northern spurs of the Apennines, and overlooked the great plain. He had sought the protection of its walls as a safe refuge against the threatened Lombard attack which Henry, it was believed, had come over the Alps to arrange. The Countess Matilda and Hugh of Cluny, Henry's godfather, were with the Pope, and many of the simoniac bishops of Germany had already gone to Canossa and won absolution by submission. On January 21, 1077, Henry left his wife and followers at Reggio, and climbed the steep snow-clad road that led to the mountain fastness. Gregory refused to receive him, but he had interviews with Matilda and his godfather in a chapel at the foot of the castle-rock, and induced them to intercede with the Pope on his behalf. Gregory would hear of nothing but complete and unconditional submission. "If he be truly penitent, let him surrender his crown and insignia of royalty into our hands, and confess himself unworthy of the name and honor of king."

Henry at Canossa.

But the pressure of the countess and abbot at last prevailed upon him to be content with abject contrition without actual abandonment of his royal state. For three days Henry waited in the snow outside the inner gate of the castle-yard, barefoot, fasting, and in the garb of a penitent. On the fourth day the Pope consented to admit him into his presence. With the cry, "Holy father, spare me!" the King threw himself at the Pope's feet. Gregory raised him up, absolved him, entertained him at his table, and sent him away with much good advice and his blessing. But the terms of Henry's reconciliation were sufficiently hard. He was to promise to submit himself to the judgment of the German magnates, presided over by the Pope, with respect to the long catalogue of charges brought against him. Until that was done he was to abstain from the royal insignia and the royal functions. He was to be prepared to accept or reject his crown according to the judgment of the Pope as to his guilt or innocence. He was, if proved innocent, to obey the Pope in all things pertaining to the Church. If he broke any of these conditions, another king was to be forthwith elected.

Henry's humiliation

The Pope's terms.

RISE OF FEUDALISM

CHARLES H. PEARSON

THE origin of feudalism is as difficult to trace as the source of the Niger. The relation of chief and clansman among barbarians, the oath of Roman soldiers to the emperor, the civic responsibility of a father for his children, transferred to a lord for his dependants, are all elements in the system which overspread Europe in the Middle Ages. Men in those times commonly regarded it from the practical point of view, as service for reward. But it came to have a higher meaning to the state. The feudal baron was the representative of kingship on his domain; rendering justice, maintaining police, and seeing that military service was performed. As a viceroy, he was accountable for the just performance of these duties to the crown: above all, he was a link in the great chain that bound the lowest peasant and the successors of Charlemagne together. Roman imperialism had divided the world into master and slave. The juster theory of the Middle Ages, no doubt influenced by Chris-

The feudal baron.

tianity, regarded mankind as a great family, and sought to strengthen the bonds of union by engagements taken solemnly before man and God. The oath of homage was the most binding that could be taken; the love of a father to his son, the duty of a wife to her husband, were regarded as of less force.

Definition of homage.

"Homage," in the beautiful language of Littleton, "is the most honorable service, and most humble service of reverence that a frank tenant may do to his lord. For, when the tenant shall make homage to his lord, he shall be ungirt, and his head uncovered, and his lord shall sit, and the tenant shall kneel before him on both his knees, and hold his hands jointly together between the hands of his lord, and shall say thus: 'I become your man from this day forward, of life and limb, and of earthly worship, and unto you shall be true and faithful, and bear to you faith for the tenements (M.N.) that I claim to hold of you; saving the faith that I owe unto our sovereign lord the king;' and then the lord so sitting shall kiss him." In order to avoid mistake, the tenements for which homage was paid were enumerated. The whole ceremony was performed before witnesses, and was a record of the lord's title-deeds. . . . Where a fief was held by a married woman, her husband took her place toward the lord. But the exception in favor of single women was inconvenient; and in later times a modified form of

The ceremony.

oath was introduced, in which all mention of personal duty was omitted. Again, bishops elect did homage for their baronies, but, after consecration, they only took the oath of fealty. The clerical oath of homage (like that of the women) omitted the words "I become your man," on the ground that the priest had professed himself to be only the man of God. Lastly, homage was restricted to the holders of estates which they could bequeath to their heirs generally, or the heirs of their body.

Distinction between homage and fealty.

The distinction of homage and fealty is important. Fealty was more sacred, because confirmed with an oath; less dignified, as it could be done by attorney; more general, as it extended to all freeholders and villeins; less personal, as it did not include the obligation to become the lord's man; and less binding, as, unlike those who held by homage, the tenant by fealty was not bound to sell or pledge everything for his lord's ransom. Hence, apparently, tenants for a term of life did fealty, but not homage. . . . The difference between fealty and the allegiance which every subject owed to the crown lay in the fact that fealty was done in respect of a tenure, implied a direct benefit enjoyed, and was legal evidence of the lord's rights.

Feudal tenure.

Homage and fealty being the relations of service, the vassal's condition was determined by the nature of his tenure. Every tenure implied some service, either fixed, and then more

or less honorable; or arbitrary, and so a mark of servitude. The Church taking precedence of the State, tenure in frank almoigne—that is, by the services of religion—came first. This was the tenure of lands that were given without the obligation of any secular service. The Churchmen endowed were, however, bound to offer up prayers and masses for the soul of their benefactor, and he or his heirs might distrain on them if this duty were neglected. Tenure by homage ancestral was merely tenancy-in-chief by immemorial prescription in the family. It carried with it the ordinary feudal burdens to the tenant; but, in return, his lord was bound to warrant him the possession of his estate. Tenure by grand sergeantry implied the performance of some personal service to the king, to be his chamberlain or champion. Tenure by petty sergeantry was the yearly payment of some implement of war to the king. These were the tenures of tenants-in-chief; below them, scutage and socage tenures. The term scutage is now commonly used of the tax for which service of the shield was commuted. Originally, it meant the obligation to serve in arms forty days in the year, and was attached to every knight's fee. Fealty, with or without homage, and scutage, together made up knight's service. Fealty, with or without homage, and any other special service, below petty sergeantry, constituted the important class of

Scutage and socage.

socage tenures. The obligation to perform all services indiscriminately was villenage. In other words, the distinction between gentry and mere freedom lay in the service of arms; between freedom and servitude, in fixed instead of variable dues. The distinctions of socage tenure are numerous, as the word came to cover the service of the plow, rent for houses paid immediately to the crown (burgage tenure), or rent by various tenures, even one so debasing as doing the hangman's duty. Sometimes two or three conditions were united; it did not matter, so long as they were not variable. Beneath these middle classes came the large class of villeins. A villein might be *regardant,* attached to the soil; or *in gross,* attached to the person of his lord. A freeman might hold land in villenage, and be bound to do villein's service upon it. One of the things that most complicates the consideration of feudal England is the way in which a personality attached to corporations and lands. Every acre of soil, every institution, was animate, so to speak, with duties and privileges, which had attached to it from time immemorial, and could not be lost.

The villeins

The obligations of a feudal vassal were service in council, in the court of law, and in the field. . . . He was bound to sustain his lord in self-defence and to guard his castle during a certain number of days. . . . He was forced to contribute to redeem his lord from captiv-

Obligations of a feudal vassal.

ity, or when his lord's eldest daughter was married, or when the eldest son became knight. These reliefs, as they were called, were at first arbitrary and oppressive. Gradually they were fixed, by custom, at the rate of five pounds for the knight's fee of land, or four hides: this was "the reasonable relief" that is mentioned in Magna Charta. . . . In the case of tenants-in-chief, their heiresses were royal wards, whom the king might marry at pleasure. The abuse of this prerogative by monarchs, who gave the daughters of noblemen to unworthy favorites, was a grave grievance, of which the barons constantly complained, but which was never effectually redressed. The vassal could not transmit his inheritance to a leper. He lost life and land if he fled from his lord in battle through cowardice, and even his freehold escheated to the crown. Generally he forfeited his fief if he did not perform its duties, or if he made any attempt on the person or honor of his lord and his family. But these obligations were reciprocal. The lord was not even allowed to raise a stick upon his vassal. Insult, outrage, or the denial of aid or justice, entitled the vassal to withdraw his fief and declare war upon his superior, though it was at his peril in England if he violated the king's peace. In cases that did not come to this extremity, the vassal might appeal to a court of his peers, presided over, it is true,

Royal wards.

Appeal.

materialize and petrify what would otherwise have been fleeting and vague, contributed to invest legal fictions with an intense reality. Hence it was that the English towns, as soon as they became free and corporate, were treated as barons. Each of them was an organic life, so to speak, with many members but only one will, and with the responsibilities of an individual. The governing powers of a corporation, its mayor, aldermen, and common council, were the lord of the citizens. Naturally, therefore, they were held responsible for the actions of any one of their body. The cost of a criminal's offences was assessed on his fellow-citizens, and the debt owed by a single man to the exchequer might be recovered from his township: the act of a deputation was binding on those from whom it came. In these few facts lies the whole representative theory. Once grant that a city can be conceived as a person, and the great democratic problem of expressing every individual will is solved.

Towns and corporations.

[In 1038, the Seljuk Turks conquered Persia and founded the dynasty of the Shepherd Kings. In 1055, Togrul, the new King, delivered the Caliph of Bagdad from a revolt of his Turkish and Arabian emirs and was appointed temporal lieutenant of the vicar of the prophet. In 1055, the Turks had already invaded the Roman Empire. In 1063, Alp

Arslan, Togrul's successor, passed the Euphrates and entered the capital of Cappadocia. He next conquered Armenia and Georgia (1065-1068). In 1071, he utterly defeated the Greeks and their allies under the Emperor Romanus Diogenes. Asia Minor was next conquered by the Turks (1074-1084). The conquest of Syria and Jerusalem followed (1076). The tales of the treatment of the pilgrims by the infidels, which were brought back by the pilgrims, excited the millions of the West to undertake the relief of the Holy Land.]

Turkish conquests.

THE FIRST CRUSADE

(A.D. 1096)

JULES MICHELET

A PICARD, who was vulgarly called *Coucou Pièire,* or Peter the Hermit, is said to have powerfully contributed by his eloquence to this great movement. On his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he persuaded the French Pope, Urban II., to preach the crusade, first at Placenza, then at Clermont (1095). In Italy the call was unheeded; in France every one rushed to arms. At the council of Clermont, four hundred bishops or mitred abbots were present: it was the triumph of the Church and the people, and the condemnation of the greatest names on the earth, those of the Emperor and of the King of France, no less than of the Turks, and of the dispute, as well, concerning the right of investiture, which had got mixed up with the question of advance on Jerusalem. All mounted the red cross on their shoulders. Red stuffs and vestments of every kind were torn in pieces, yet were insufficient for the purpose.

Council of Clermont, 1095.

An extraordinary spectacle was then pre-

sented: the world seemed turned upside down. Men suddenly conceived a disgust for all they had before prized; and hastened to quit their proud castles, their wives, and children. There was no need of preaching; they preached to each other, says a contemporary, both by word and example.

Popular enthusiasm.

"There were some who at first had no desire to set out, and who laughed at those who parted with their property, foretelling them a miserable voyage, and more miserable return. The next day, these very mockers, by some sudden impulse, gave all they had for money, and set out with those whom they had just laughed at. Who can name the children and aged women who prepared for war; who count the virgins, and old men trembling under the weight of years? . . . You would have smiled to see the poor shoeing their oxen like horses, dragging their slender stock of provisions and their little children in carts; and these little ones, at each town or castle they came to, asked in their simplicity—'Is not that the Jerusalem that we are going to?'"

The rabble expedition.

The people set forth without waiting for anything, leaving the princes to deliberate, to arm, and to reckon; men of little faith! The little troubled themselves with nothing of the kind: they were certain of a miracle. Would God refuse one for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre? Peter the Hermit marched at their head, barefooted, and girt with a cord.

Others followed a brave and poor knight, whom they called Walter the Penniless. Among so many thousands of men there were not eight horses. Some Germans followed the example of the French, and set out under the guidance of a countryman of their own, named Gotteschalk. The whole descended the valley of the Danube—the route followed by Attila, the highway of mankind.

Outrages on the march.

On their road they took, plundered, and indemnified themselves beforehand for their holy war. Every Jew they could lay hands upon they put to death with tortures; believing that they were bound to punish the murderers of Christ before delivering his tomb. In this guise, fierce, and dripping with blood, they reached Hungary and the Greek empire; where they inspired such horror, that the inhabitants set upon their traces, and hunted them down like wild beasts. The Emperor furnished vessels to the survivors, and transported them into Asia, trusting to the arrows of the Turks to do the rest; and the excellent Anna Comnena is happy in the belief that they left in the plain of Nicea mountains of bones which served for the building of the walls of a town.

Meanwhile, the unwieldy armies of princes, barons, and knights, put themselves slowly into motion. No king took part in the crusade, but many lords more powerful than kings. Hugh of Vermandois, brother of the King of

France, and son-in-law of the King of England, the wealthy Stephen of Blois, Robert Curt-Hose, William the Conqueror's son, and the Count of Flanders, set out at the same time —all equal, none chief. Baronial leaders.

Raymond de Saint-Gille, Count of Toulouse, was, beyond comparison, the wealthiest of all who took the cross. He had sworn not to return, bore with him immense riches, and was followed by the whole of the South—by the lords of Orlange, Forez, Roussillon, Montpellier, Turenne, and Albret, besides the ecclesiastical head of the crusade, the Bishop of Puy, the Pope's legate, who was Raymond's subject. Raymond of Toulouse

The Normans of Italy were not the last to set forward to Jerusalem; and less wealthy than the Languedocians, they reckoned on turning the expedition to their advantage. However, the successors of Guiscard and Roger would not have quitted their conquest for this hazardous enterprise, had not one Bohemond, a natural son of Robert l'Avisé's, and not less *Wise* (crafty?) than his father, received no other inheritance than Tarentum and his sword. One Tancred, too, a Norman by the mother's side, but supposed to be a Piedmontese by the father's, likewise took up arms. Bohemond was laying siege to Amalfi, when the news of the march of the crusaders reached him. He informed himself minutely of their names, number, arms, and resources; Bohemond and Tancred.

and then, without saying a word, took the cross and left Amalfi.

However great the deeds of Bohemond, the voice of the people, which is that of God, has ascribed all the glory of the crusade to Godfrey, son of the Count of Boulogne, Margrave of Antwerp, Duke of Bouillon and of Lothier, and King of Jerusalem. While yet a child, he had often said that he would go with an army to Jerusalem; and, as soon as the crusade was proclaimed, he sold his lands to the Bishop of Liège, and set out for the Holy Land, at the head of an army of ten thousand horsemen and seventy thousand foot, French, Lorrains, and Germans. Godfrey belonged to both nations, and spoke both tongues. He was not tall; his brother, Baldwin, was taller by the head; but his strength was prodigious. It is said that with one blow of his sword he "unseamed" a horseman from head to saddle; and with one back stroke would cut off an ox's or a camel's head. When in Asia, having one day lost his way, he found one of his companions in a cavern, engaged with a bear. He drew the beast's rage upon himself, and slew it; but the serious bites he received kept him long to his bed. This heroic man was of singular purity of mind: he never married, and died, without having known woman, at the age of thirty-eight.

Godfrey de Bouillon.

His purity and heroism

The council of Clermont was held in November, 1095. On the 15th of August, 1096,

Godfrey departed with the Lorrains and Belgians, and took the route through Germany and Hungary. In September, William the Conqueror's son, his son-in-law, the Count of Blois, brother of the King of France, and the Count of Flanders, set forth, taking the route through Italy as far as Apulia, where they separated, one party crossing to Durazzo, another turning Greece. In October, our Southerns, under Raymond de St. Gille, marched by way of Lombardy, Friuli, and Dalmatia. Bohemond, with his Normans and Italians, forced his way through the deserts of Bulgaria, which was the shortest and least dangerous passage, it being preferable to avoid the towns, and to encounter the Greeks in the open country only. The wild appearance of the first crusaders, led by Peter the Hermit, had alarmed the Byzantines, who bitterly repented their invitation to the Franks, but too late. They poured in, in countless numbers, through every valley and avenue of the Empire,—Constantinople being the place of rendezvous. Vain were the Emperor's cunning plans to cut them off by the way; the massy strength of the barbarians broke through every snare: Hugh of Vermandois was the only one who suffered himself to be entrapped: Alexis saw the army which he had made sure of destroying, arrive, division after division, at Constantinople, to salute their good friend, the Emperor. The poor Greeks, condemned to see this fearful

The route.

Arrival at Constantinople.

review of the human race defile before them, could not believe that the torrent would pass without carrying them along with it; and there was enough to be alarmed at in the innumerable languages and strange costumes of these barbarians, whose very familiarity and coarse pleasantries disconcerted the Byzantines. While waiting until the whole army should be collected, they established themselves amicably in the Empire, did just as they did at home, and laid hands in their simplicity on whatever they fancied; for instance, on the lead of the roofs of the churches, which they sold back to the Greeks. The sacred palace was not a whit more respected; they felt no awe of its swarm of scribes and of eunuchs, and had neither taste nor imagination sufficient to be influenced by the overpowering pomp and theatrical display of Byzantine majesty. Alexis had a fine lion, which was both the ornament and the terror of the palace: they killed it by way of sport.

Simplicity of the Crusaders.

Constantinople, with all its marvels, was a great temptation for such as had only seen the mud-built cities of our West. Its gilded domes, marble palaces, and the masterpieces of antique art, which had been accumulated in the capital in proportion as the limits of the Empire had been contracted, presented an astonishing and mysterious whole which overwhelmed them, and which they were utterly at a loss to understand. The very variety of

Splendor of Constantinople.

the manufactures, and of the merchandise exhibited for sale, was to them an inexplicable problem. All they could comprehend was, that they longed for all they saw, and doubted whether the holy city was to be preferred to it. Our Normans and our Gascons would have been well content to finish the crusade here: they would willingly have said, like the little children of whom Guibert speaks—"Is not this Jerusalem?"

Then came into their mind all the stratagems with which the Greeks had beset their march. They pretended that they had furnished them with unwholesome food, and had poisoned the fountains; and laid to their charge the epidemic diseases which had been produced in the army by alternate famine and intemperance. Bohemond and the Count of Toulouse argued that they should stand on no scruple with regard to these poisoners, and that by way of castigation they should take Constantinople—they might then conquer the Holy Land at their leisure. It would have been an easy matter, had they been all agreed, but the Norman was conscious that if he dethroned Alexis, this might only be to give the Empire to the Toulousan; besides, Godfrey declared that he had not come to make war on Christians. Bohemond supported his views, and found his virtue very profitable, since he got from the Emperor everything he wished.

Greek treachery.

Address of Alexis.

Such was the tact of Alexis, that he managed to persuade these conquerors, who could have crushed him, to do him homage, and to make their conquest a fief of the Empire beforehand. Hugh took the oath first, then Bohemond, then Godfrey. Godfrey bent the knee to the Greek, in whose hands he placed his own, and declared himself his vassal: an act which cost little to one of his meek disposition.

In point of fact, the crusaders could not do without Constantinople. Since it was not theirs, they behooved to have it at least as their ally and friend. About to plunge into the deserts of Asia, it was the Greeks alone who could preserve them from ruin in case of reverse; and to get rid of them, the Greeks promised whatever was asked of them—provisions, auxiliary troops, and, especially, vessels to transport them as soon as possible across the Bosphorus.

Arrival in Asia.

Behold them in Asia, the Turkish cavalry before them. The heavy mass advances, harassed upon the flanks. The crusaders first sit down before Nicea, for the Greeks, wishing to recover that city, led them there. Unskilled in the art of besieging fortified places, they might, with all their valor, have lingered there forever; but at any rate, they served to alarm the besieged, who entered into negotiations with Alexis, so that one morning the Franks saw the Emperor's banner floating over the

walls, and they were bade from the ramparts to respect an imperial city.

They pursued, then, their route to the south, punctually escorted by the Turks, who cut off all loiterers; but they suffered still more from their numbers. Notwithstanding the succors of the Greeks, sufficient provisions could not be got together for them, and water was every moment failing them on the arid hills they had to traverse. During one halt, five hundred persons died of thirst. "The dogs of chase belonging to the great lords, which were led in leash, died," says the chronicler, "by the way, and the falcons died on the wrists of those who bore them. The women's sufferings brought on untimely labor; and they remained all naked on the plain, without bestowing a thought on their new-born children." Losses on the march.

Light cavalry to oppose that of the Turks would have been of great advantage to them. The crusading army marched, imprisoned, so to speak, in a circle of turbans and of cimeters. Once only did the Turks endeavor to stop them, and offer them battle. It did not turn to their account. They felt what could be done by the weight of arms of those to whom they were so superior in desultory warfare and with missile weapons. Nevertheless, the loss of the crusaders was immense. Turkish tactics.

Thus harassed, they forced their way through Cilicia, and as far as Antioch. The army desired to press onward to Jerusalem;

but their leaders insisted on stopping, for they were impatient to realize their ambitious dreams. Already they had disputed, sword in hand, whose Tarsus was to be, both Baldwin and Tancred claiming to have been the first to enter it; but the army, caring little for the private interests of the chiefs and not wishing to be delayed, demolished another city about which a similar dispute was on the point of breaking out.

Capture of Antioch.

The great city of Antioch contained three hundred and sixty churches, and four hundred and fifty towers; and had been the metropolis of a hundred and fifty-three bishoprics,—a fine prize for the count of St. Gille and Bohemond, and its possession alone could console them for having missed Constantinople. Bohemond was the more able of the two, and opened a correspondence with the citizens. The crusaders, deceived here as they had been at Nicea, saw the red banner of the Normans streaming from the walls; but this did not hinder them from entering the city, or Count Raymond from throwing his followers into some of the towers, and fortifying himself there. The abundance of this great city proved fatal to them after such long deprivations, and an epidemic carried off the crusaders in crowds. Their waste soon exhausted the plenty before them, and they were again reduced to famine, when a vast army of Turks arrived to beleaguer them in their

Pestilence and famine.

new conquest. Hugh of France, Stephen of Blois, and numbers besides, conceived the destruction of the army at hand, and, escaping, spread the news of the disastrous failure of the crusade.

And, indeed, to such excess of prostration were those who remained reduced that Bohemond was obliged to have the houses fired to force them to leave the shelter where they lay cowering. Religion supplied a still more efficacious means. One of the common men, warned in a dream, announced to the chiefs that by digging in a certain spot they would find the Holy Lance which had pierced the side of our Lord. He deponed to the truth of his revelation by submitting to the ordeal of fire, and was burned; but, nevertheless, they shouted a miracle. Giving the horses all the forage that remained, and choosing the moment when the Turks were disporting and drinking, thinking themselves secure of their famished prey, they sallied forth at every gate, and with the Holy Lance at their head. Their numbers seemed to them to be doubled by squadrons of angels; they broke through and scattered the innumerable army of the Turks, and became masters of the country round Antioch, and of the road to Jerusalem.

Discovery of the Holy Lance.

The Turks routed.

Antioch became Bohemond's, despite Raymond's efforts to keep possession of its towers. The Norman thus reaped the profit of the crusade; yet he could not escape accompany-

ing the army and assisting at the siege of Jerusalem. That vast army had by this time been thinned down to five and twenty thousand men; but these were all knights and their immediate retainers. The common herd had found a tomb in Asia Minor and in Antioch.

The Fatimites defend Jerusalem.

The Fatimites of Egypt, who, like the Greeks, had summoned the Franks against the Turks, in like manner repented. Having taken Jerusalem from the Turks, they essayed to keep it in their own hands, and are said to have assembled forty thousand men for its defence. The crusaders, who, in the first transports of enthusiasm into which they had been thrown at the sight of the Holy City, had felt assured of carrying it by assault, were repulsed by the besieged. They found themselves compelled to resort to the slow process of a siege, and to sit down before the city in this desolate region, alike destitute of trees and of water. It seemed as if the demon had blasted everything with his breath, at the approach of the army of Christ. Sorceresses appeared on the walls, who hurled fatal words at the besiegers, but it was not by words that they were answered: and one of them, in the midst of her conjurations, was struck by a stone launched from the machines of the Christians, which had been made under the direction of the Viscount of Bearn, from the trees of the only wood which the neighborhood furnished, and which by his orders had been cut

Difficulties of the siege.

down by the Genoese and Gascons. Two movable towers were built, one for the Count of St. Gille, and the other for the Duke of Lorraine. Daily, for eight days, and barefooted, the crusaders had walked in procession round Jerusalem; which done, a general assault was made by the whole army, Godfrey's tower rolled to the walls, and on Friday, the 15th of July, 1099, at three o'clock, on the very day, and at the very hour of the Passion, Godfrey of Bouillon descended from his tower on the walls of Jerusalem. The city was taken, and a fearful massacre followed; for the crusaders, in their blind fury, not taking into account the distance of time, believed that in each infidel they slew in Jerusalem, they put to death one of the executioners of Jesus Christ.

Massacre of the Infidels.

When it appeared to them that they had sufficiently avenged our Saviour, that is, when hardly an inhabitant was left alive in the city, they repaired with tears and groans, and beatings of the breast, to worship the Holy Tomb. The next question was, who was to be king of the conquest, who was to have the melancholy honor of defending Jerusalem. A court of inquiry was held on each of the princes, in order to choose the worthiest; and to come at their secret vices, their servants were questioned. The choice would probably have fallen on the Count of St. Gille, the richest of the crusaders, had not his servants, in

Court of inquiry to elect a king.

their fear of being kept by him at Jerusalem, made no scruple of blackening their master's character, and so sparing him the pains of sovereignty. When the Duke of Lorraine's servants were examined in their turn, they could find nothing to say against him, except that he remained too long in the churches, even beyond the hours of service, and stayed inquiring of the priests the stories represented in the sacred images and paintings, to the great discontent of his friends, who were thus kept waiting for their dinner. Godfrey resigned himself to the burden; but would not assume the kingly crown in a spot in which the Saviour had worn one of thorns. The only title he would accept was that of defender and baron of the Holy Sepulchre. To the patriarch's claim to Jerusalem and the whole kingdom, he made no objection, but freely surrendered all in presence of the people, and only reserved for himself the possession, that is to say, the defence, of the city. In the very first year of his reign, he had to fight an innumerable army of Egyptians, who had attacked the crusaders at Ascalon. He had, in short, a never-ending war on his hands, and found his conquest to be nothing but irremediable misery,—one long martyrdom. The Arabs infested his kingdom from the beginning, penetrating to the very gates of his capital, so that it was hardly possible to till the land. Tancred was the only chief that re-

Godfrey elected.

His incessant wars.

mained with Godfrey, who could with difficulty detain three hundred knights to defend the Holy Land.

Yet was it a great thing for Christendom thus to occupy, in the very midst of the infidels, the cradle of their religion. A petty Asiatic Europe was formed here, in the likeness of the great; and feudality was organized even under a severer form than it had assumed in any western country. The hierarchical order, and all the details of feudal justice were regulated in the famous Assize of Jerusalem, by Godfrey and his barons; and there were present a Prince of Galilee, a Marquis of Jaffa, and a Baron of Sidon. The addition of these titles of the Middle Age to the most venerable names of biblical antiquity sounds like a burlesque; and, assuredly, Daniel had seen in no vision that a Duke of Lorraine would crown the fortress of David with battlements, or that a barbaric giant from the West, a Gaul—a fair head masked with iron—would call himself Marquis of Tyre.

The Assize of Jerusalem.

[Doomsday Book is compiled and the Feudal System established in England (1080). In 1097, William Rufus quarrels with Archbishop Anselm over investitures, but the crown is finally worsted. Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, ratifies her donation to the Holy See of her possessions, in right of which the Church owned the greater part of its tem-

Doomsday Book.

poral dominions. The Crusaders capture
A.D. 1104-1171. Acre (1104), Tripoli (1109), Berytus and Sidon (1111). By the aid of the Doge of Venice, Tyre is taken (1124). The Order of St. John of Jerusalem (Hospitallers) is founded (1099) and the Templars (1118). The Emperor Henry IV. abdicates and dies; and Milan revolts and erects itself into a republic (1106). The Doge of Venice falls at Zara in defence of Dalmatia against the Hungarians. The Guelf and Ghibelline factions originate in 1138. Edessa is captured by the Turks in 1146, which event alarms Europe and gives rise to the Second Crusade, in which Conrad of Germany is defeated by the Sultan of Iconium (1146) and Louis VII. at Laodicea (1147). Noureddin defeats the Christians near the Orontes (1149). Berthold founds the Carmelites; and Granada is conquered by the Almohades (1156). The Knights of the Calatrava are founded (1158). Milan in revolt is captured and destroyed; and all Italy submits to Frederic I. Pope Alexander III. flees to France. Notre Dame in Paris is founded and the Turks first enter Egypt (1168). In 1170, Peter Waldo founds the Waldenses; Thomas à Becket is assassinated; and Waldemar I. of Denmark destroys Tomsberg, the greatest city in Europe and the last stronghold of Slavonic paganism.
Strongbow. Ireland is conquered by Strongbow and Saladin becomes Sultan of Egypt in 1171. In

1183, the Peace of Constance re-establishes the independence of the Italian republics. In 1187, Saladin wins the battle of Tiberias and captures Jerusalem, which leads to the Third Crusade. In 1189, the Jews in England are massacred.] A.D. 1183-1189.

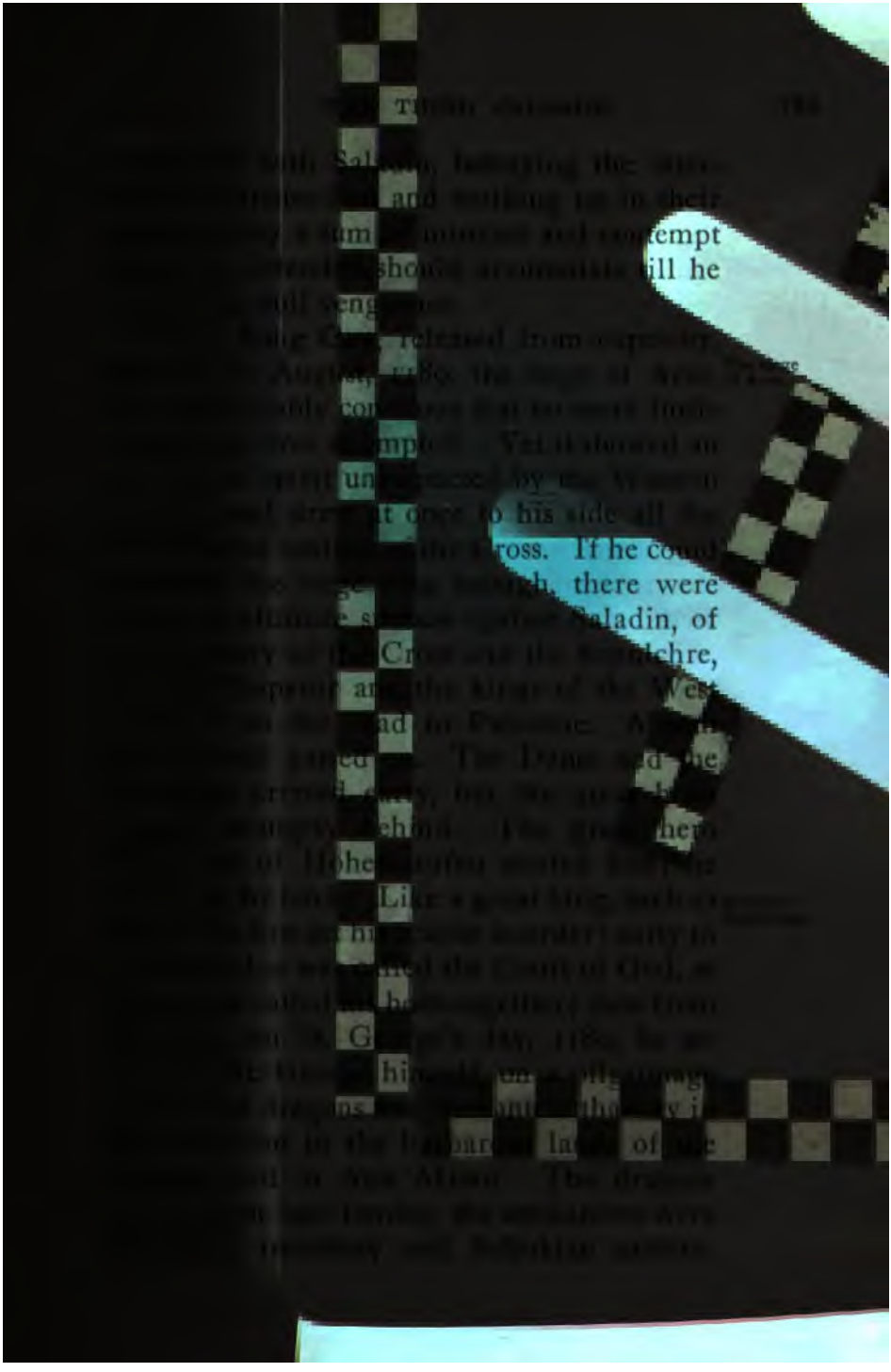
THE THIRD CRUSADE

(A.D. 1190)

WILLIAM STUBBS

THE third Crusade, in which Richard was the foremost actor, is one of the most interesting parts of the crusading history; the greatness of the occasion, the greatness of the heroes, and the greatness of the failure, mark it out especially. And yet it was not altogether a failure, for it stayed the Western progress of Saladin, and Islam never again had so great a captain. Jerusalem had been taken in the autumn of 1187. The King had been taken prisoner in the summer. Before or after the capture almost every stronghold had been surrendered within the territory of Jerusalem. Saving the lordship of Tyre and the principalities of Antioch and Tripoli, all the Frank possessions had been lost, and only a few mountain fortresses kept up a hopeless resistance. The counsels of the crusaders were divided; the military orders hated and were hated by the Frank nobility; and these, with an admixture of Western adventurers like Conrad of Montferrat, played fast

Its greatness and its failure.



Through both the true and perfect knight passed with neither fear nor reproach. In a little river among the mountains of Cilicia he met the strongest enemy, and only his bones reached the land of his pilgrimage. His people looked for him as the Britons for Arthur. They would not believe him dead. Still legend places him, asleep but yet alive, in a cave among the Thuringian Mountains, to awake and come again in the great hour of German need. His diminished and perishing army brought famine and pestilence to the besieging host at Acre. His son Frederick of Swabia, who commanded them, died with them; and the German crusaders who were left—few indeed after the struggle—returned to Germany before the close of the Crusade under Duke Leopold of Austria.

His legendary resting-place.

Next perhaps, after the Emperor, the Crusade depended on the King of Sicily—he died four months after his father-in-law, Henry II.

For two years the siege of Acre dragged on its miserable length. It was a siege within a siege: the Christian host held the Saracen army within the walls; they themselves fortified an intrenched camp; outside the trench was a countless Saracen host besieging the besiegers. The command of the sea was disputed, but both parties found their supplies in that way, and both suffered together.

Double siege at Acre.

This had been going on for nearly a year before Richard and Philip left Vezelai.

From Vezelai to Lyons the kings marched together; then Philip set out for Genoa, Richard for Marseilles. Richard coasted along the Italian shore, whiling away the time until his fleet arrived. The ships had gone, of course, by the Bay of Biscay and Straits of Gibraltar, where they had been drawn into the constant crusade going on between the Moors and the Portuguese, and lost time also by sailing up to Marseilles, where they expected to meet the King. Notwithstanding the delay they arrived at Messina several days before Richard. Philip, whose fleet, such as it was, had assembled at Marseilles, reached the place to rendezvous ten days before him.

Journey of Richard.

Immediately on Richard's arrival, on September 23, Philip took ship, but immediately put back. Richard made no attempt to go further than Messina until the spring. It was an unfortunate delay, but it was absolutely necessary. The besiegers of Acre were perishing with plague and famine; provisions were not abundant even in the fleet. To have added the English and French armies to the perishing host would have been suicidal. Some of the English barons, however, perished. Ranulf Glanvill went on to Acre, and died in the autumn of 1190; Archbishop Baldwin and Hurbert Walter, the Bishop of Salisbury, took the military as well as the spiritual command of the English contingent; but the archbishop died in November, and Hurbert

The English at Acre.

found his chief employment in ministering to the starving soldiers. Queen Sibylla and her children were dead also; and Conrad of Montferrat, separating her sister, now the heiress of the Frank kingdom, from her youthful husband, prevailed on the patriarch to marry her to himself, and so to oust King Guy, and still more divide the divided camp. The two factions were arrayed against one another as bitterly as the general exhaustion permitted, when at last Philip and Richard came.

The kings at Messina.

The winter months of 1190 and the spring of 1191 had been spent by them in very uneasy lodgings at Messina. Richard and Philip were, from the very first, jealous of one another. Richard was betrothed to Philip's sister, and Philip suspected him of wishing to break off the engagement. Richard's sister Johanna, the widow of William the Good, was still in Sicily. Richard wanted to get her and her fortune into his hands and out of the hands of Tancred, who, with a doubtful claim, had set himself up as King of Sicily against Henry of Hohenstaufen, who had married the late king's aunt. Now, the Hohenstaufen and the French had always been allies; Richard, through his sister's marriage with Henry the Lion, was closely connected with the Welfs, who had suffered forfeiture and banishment from the policy of Frederick Barbarossa. He was also naturally the ally of Tancred, who looked upon him as the head

Jealousy between Richard and Philip.

of Norman chivalry. Yet to secure his sister he found it necessary to force Tancred to terms. While Tancred negotiated the people of Messina rose against the strangers; the strangers quarrelled among themselves; Philip planned treachery against Richard, and tried to draw Tancred into a conspiracy; Tancred informed Richard of the treachery. Matters were within a hair's-breadth of a battle between the crusading kings. Philip's strength, however, was not equal to his spite, and the air gradually cleared. Tancred gave up the queen and her fortune, and arranged a marriage for one of his daughters with Arthur of Brittany, who was recognized as Richard's heir. Soon after Queen Eleanor arrived at Naples with the lady Berengaria of Navarre in her company; whereupon, by the advice of Count Philip of Flanders, Philip released Richard from the promise to marry his sister; and at last, at the end of March, 1191, the French Crusaders sailed away to Acre. Richard followed in a few days; but a storm carrying part of his fleet to Cyprus, he found himself obliged to fight with Isaac Comnenus, the Emperor, and then to conquer and reform the island, where also he was married. After he reached Acre, where he arrived on June 8, he as well as Philip fell ill, and only after a delay of some weeks was able to take part in the siege. The town held out a little longer; but early in July it surrendered, and gave the

Richard and Tancred.

Richard sails from Messina.

Acre taken, 1191.

Christians once more a footing in the Holy Land. Immediately after the capture Philip started homeward, leaving his vow of pilgrimage unfulfilled. Richard remained to complete the conquest.

Richard's campaigns in Palestine

The sufferings and the cruelties of this part of the history are not pleasant to dwell upon. It is a sad tale to tell how Saladin slew his prisoners, how the Duke of Burgundy and Richard slew theirs; how Conrad and Guy quarrelled, the French supporting Conrad and Richard supporting Guy; how the people perished, and brave and noble knights took menial service to earn bread. A more brilliant yet scarcely less sad story is the great march of Richard by the way of the sea from Acre to Joppa, and his progress, after a stay of seven weeks at Joppa, on the way to Jerusalem as far as Ramleh. Every step was dogged by Saladin, every straggler cut off, every place of encampment won by fighting. Christmas found the King within a few miles of Jerusalem; but he never came within reach of it. Had he known the internal condition of the city he might have taken it. Jerusalem was in a panic, Saladin for once paralyzed by alarm; but Richard had no good intelligence. The Franks insisted that Ascalon should be secured before the Holy City was occupied. The favorable moment passed away.

Saladin alarmed.

Richard with a heavy heart turned his back

on Jerusalem and went to rebuild Ascalon. Before that was done the French began to draw back. The struggle between Guy and Conrad broke out again. Saladin, by Easter, 1192, was in full force and in good spirits again. Richard performed during these months some of the most daring exploits of his whole life: capturing the fortresses of the south country of Judah, and with a small force and incredibly rapid movements intercepting the great caravan of the Saracens on the borders of the desert. Such acts increased his fame but scarcely helped the Crusade.

Ascalon rebuilt.

Exploits of Richard.

In June it became absolutely necessary to determine on further steps. Now the French insisted on attacking Jerusalem. Richard had learned caution, and the council of the Crusade recommended an expedition to Egypt to secure the south as Acre barred the north. At last Richard yielded to the pressure of the French, and in spite of the want of water and the absurdity of sitting down before the Holy City with an enormous army in the middle of summer, he led them again to Beit-nuba, four hours' journey from Jerusalem. Then the French changed their minds again; and thence, on July 4, began the retreat preparatory to the return. Richard had been too long away from France, whither Philip had returned, and from England, where John was waiting for his chances; he began to ne-

March on Jerusalem.

Retreat and truce.

gotiate for a truce, and in September, after a dashing exploit at Joppa, in which he rescued the town from almost certain capture, he arranged a peace for three years three months and three days.

Richard's journey homeward.

Early in October he left Palestine, the Bishop of Salisbury remaining to lead home the remnant of the host, as soon as they had performed the pilgrimage which they were to make under the protection of Saladin. Richard, impatient of delay, and not deeming himself worthy to look on the city which he had not strength and grace to win back for Christendom, left his fleet and committed himself to the ordinary means of transport. After bargaining with pirates and smugglers for a passage, and losing time by unnecessary hurry, he was shipwrecked on the coast of the Adriatic near Aquileia; travelled in disguise through Friuli and part of Salzburg, and was caught by Duke Leopold of Austria, his bitter personal enemy, at Vienna, in December. In March, 1193, he was handed over to the Emperor Henry VI., who was in correspondence with Philip of France.

[The Christian kings of Spain settle their differences and unite against the Moors (1193). Florence becomes an independent republic (1198). The Pope forces Philip Augustus to take back his divorced queen, Ingeborg (1200).]

THE FOURTH CRUSADE

(A.D. 1202)

JULES MICHELET

THE Westerns had slight hope of succeeding in an enterprise in which their hero, Richard Cœur-de-Lion, had failed. However, the momentum which had been imparted a century before, went on of itself. Politicians endeavored to turn it to account. The Emperor, Henry VI., himself preached the crusade to the diet of Worms, declaring that he desired to make atonement for the imprisonment of Richard. Enthusiasm was at its height: all the German princes took the cross. Many found their way to Constantinople: others followed the Emperor, who persuaded them that the right road to the Holy Land was Sicily. He thus managed to secure important assistance toward conquering this island, which was his wife's by inheritance, but whose inhabitants, whether Norman, Italian, or Arab, were unanimous in rejecting the German yoke. He only became master of it by shedding torrents of blood; and it is even said that his wife poisoned him in revenge

Enthusiasm in Germany.

for her country's wrongs. Brought up by the jurists of Bologna with the idea of the illimitable right of the Cæsars, Henry relied on making Sicily his vantage-ground for the invasion of the Greek Empire, as Robert Guiscard had done, and then returning into Italy to humble the Pope to the level of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The conquest of the Greek Empire, which he was unable to accomplish, was, indeed, the consequence and unforeseen result of the fourth crusade. Saladin's death, and the accession of a young pope full of ardor and of genius (Innocent III.), seemed to reanimate Christendom. The death of Henry VI., too, reassured Europe, alarmed at his power. The crusade, preached by Fulk of Neuilly, was, above all, popular in Northern France. A count of Champagne had just been elected king of Jerusalem. His brother, who succeeded to his countship, took the cross, and with him most of his vassals. This powerful baron was lord of no fewer than eighteen hundred fiefs. Nor must we forget his marshal of Champagne, who marched at the head of his vassals, Geoffroi de Villehardouin, the historian of this great expedition, the first prose writer, the first historian of France who used the vulgar tongue. It is a native of Champagne, too, the Sire de Joinville, who is to relate the history of St. Louis and the close of the crusades. The barons of the north of

Also in Northern France.

France took the cross in crowds, and among them the Counts of Brienne, of St. Paul, of Boulogne, and of Amiens, with the Dampierres, the Montmorencies, and the famous Simon de Montfort, who had returned from the Holy Land, where he had concluded a truce with the Saracens on the part of the Christians of Palestine. The impulse communicated itself to Hainault and to Flanders; and the Count of Flanders, who was the brother-in-law of the Count of Champagne, found himself, by the premature death of the latter, the chief leader of the crusade. The Kings of France and England had their own affairs to look after; and the Empire was distracted between two emperors.

Hainault and Flanders join.

The land journey was no longer thought of. The Greeks were too well known. They had but recently massacred the Latins who happened to be in Constantinople; and had attempted to destroy the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa on his march. Vessels were required for the voyage by sea. The Venetians were applied to. These traders took advantage of the necessity of the crusaders, and would not supply them with transports under eighty-five thousand marks of silver. But they chose to take a share in the crusade, toward which they equipped fifty galleys, and in return for this small venture, they stipulated for a moiety of the conquests. The old doge, Dandolo, an octogenarian, and almost blind,

Transactions with the Venetians,—Dandolo.

would trust no one with the command of an expedition which might turn out so profitable to the republic, and declared his intention to sail with it. The Marquis of Montserrat, Boniface, a brave and poor prince, who had been to the holy wars, and whose brother Conrad had distinguished himself by his defence of Tyre, was appointed commander-in-chief, and he promised to lead with him the Piedmontese and Savoyards.

A sharp bargain.

When the crusaders had assembled at Venice, the Venetians protested to them, in the midst of their farewell fêtes, that they would not get under weigh until they received their freightage. All drained themselves, and gave whatever they had brought with them; still thirty-four thousand marks were wanting to make the tale complete. The worthy doge then interceded, and pointed out to the people that it would not be to their honor to act rigorously with regard to so holy an enterprise; and he proposed that the crusaders should, in the first instance, lay siege, on behalf of the Venetians, to the city of Zara in Dalmatia, which had withdrawn itself from the yoke of the Venetians to recognize the King of Hungary. The latter had just taken the cross, and to attack one of his towns was a bad beginning. Vainly did the Pope's legate protest against the step. The doge told him that the army could dispense with his directions, mounted the cross on his ducal cap, and dragged the

Siege of Zara, A.D. 1203.

crusaders first to the siege of Zara, then to that of Trieste; conquering for their good friends of Venice almost all the towns of Istria.

Prince Alexius asks aid from the crusaders.

While these brave and honest knights earn their passage by these exploits, "Behold, there happens," says Villehardouin, "a great wonder, an unhoped-for, and the strangest adventure in the world." A young Greek prince, son of the Emperor Isaac—at the time dispossessed of his dominions by his brother—comes to embrace the crusaders' knees, and to promise them immense advantages, if they will only re-establish his father on his throne. They were all to be enriched forever, the Greek Church was to submit to the Pope, and the Emperor, once restored, would aid them with his whole power to recover Jerusalem. Dandolo is the first to commiserate the prince's misfortunes. He determines the crusaders *to begin the crusade by Constantinople.* Vainly does the Pope launch his interdict against the intent; vainly do Simon Montfort and many others separate from the main body, and set sail to Jerusalem. The majority follow Baldwin and Boniface, who fall in with the opinion of the Venetians.

The Pope's opposition.

Whatever the Pope's opposition to the enterprise, the crusaders conceived that they were doing a good work in subjecting the Greek Church to him, in his own despite. It would put an end to the mutual hatred and opposition of the Greeks and Latins.

At every crusade, the Franks, in passing through Constantinople, had deliberated on the policy of seizing it; and but for the good faith of Godfrey of Bouillon and Louis the Younger, they would have put their deliberations into act. When the nationality of the Greeks was so fearfully aroused by the tyrant Andronicus, the Latins settled in Constantinople were involved in one common massacre (April, 1182). Notwithstanding the constant danger that hung over their heads, commercial interests tempted great numbers to return under his successors; and they formed in the heart of Constantinople a hostile colony, inviting the Westerns, and apparently holding out hopes of seconding them should they ever attempt to take the capital of the Greek Empire by surprise. Of all the Latins, the Venetians alone desired and could effect this great enterprise; and, rivals of the Genoese in the trade of the Levant, they feared being anticipated by them. Not to dwell upon the great name of Constantinople, and of the immense riches inclosed within its walls, in which the Roman Empire had taken refuge, its commanding position between Europe and Asia offered, to whoever should seize it, a monopoly of commerce, and the sovereignty of the seas. The old doge, Dandolo, whom the Greeks had formerly deprived of sight, pursued this project with the untiring ardor of patriotism and of vengeance. It is even stated that the Sul-

Hostility between Greeks and Latins.

Dandolo's statecraft and vengeance.

tan Malek-Adhel, in his fear of the crusade, had levied contributions throughout Syria for the purchase of the friendship of the Venetian, and to divert to Constantinople the danger which threatened Judea and Egypt. Nicetas, much better acquainted than Villehardouin with the negotiations preceding the crusade, asserts that the whole had been arranged, and that the arrival of the young Alexius only accelerated the impulse already given: "It was," he says, "a wave upon a wave." Secret negotiations.

The crusaders constituted in the hands of Venice a blind and brutal force, which it launched against the Greek Empire. They were ignorant alike of the motives and secret intelligence of the Venetians, and of the state of the Empire they were about to attack. Thus, when they found themselves before its astonishing capital, and beheld the innumerable palaces and churches of Constantinople, with their gilded domes flashing in the sun, and gazed on the myriads of men who crowded the ramparts, they could not help a feeling of momentary doubt.

It is true that the population was great; but the city was unprepared for defence. The Greeks had entertained the conviction, since their repulse of the Arabs, that Constantinople was impregnable; and from this conviction neglected the means of rendering it so. Constantinople had sixteen hundred fishing- Magnitude of the task.

boats, and only twenty ships, not one of which, however, it sent against the Latin fleet, and none attempted to fall down the stream to cast the Greek fire into it. Sixty thousand men, indeed, appeared on the bank magnificently armed; but no sooner did the crusaders show themselves, than they vanished. In fact, this light cavalry of theirs could not have sustained the shock of the heavy men-at-arms of the Latins; and the city had no other defence than was afforded by its strong walls and a few corps of excellent soldiers, forming the Varangian guard, which consisted of Danish and Saxon refugees from England, together with some Pisan auxiliaries: in all parts, the commercial and political rivalry between the two people, armed the Pisans against the Venetians.

Cowardice of the Greeks.

The latter, probably, had friends in Constantinople; for as soon as they had forced the harbor and presented themselves at the foot of the walls, the standard of St. Mark appeared on them, planted by an invisible hand, and the doge was quickly master of twenty-five towers. But he had to forego this advantage in order to carry assistance to the Franks, who were surrounded by the Greek cavalry they had so despised. That very night the Emperor fled in despair. His predecessor, the aged Isaac Comnenus, was released from prison; and it only remained for the crusaders to enter the city in triumph.

Treachery aids the Venetians.

It was impossible that the crusade should end thus. The new Emperor could only satisfy the requisitions of his liberators by ruining his subjects. The Greeks murmured, the Latins pressed and threatened. In the meantime they insulted the people in a thousand ways, as well as the Emperor of their own making. One day, when playing at dice with Prince Alexius, they clapped a coarse woollen or hair cap on his head. They took pleasure in offending against all the customs of the Greeks, and were scandalized at whatever was new to themselves. Discovering a mosque or a synagogue, they fell upon the infidels, who defended themselves. They then set fire to some houses, and the flames spreading, the conflagration raged over the thickest and most populous quarter of the city for above a league in front, and lasted eight days and nights.

The crusaders insult the Greeks.

This event put the finishing stroke to the exasperation of the people, who rose up against the Emperor whose restoration had brought so many evils in its train. For three days the purple was offered to every Senator in turn: great courage was required to accept it. The Venetians who, apparently, could have interfered, remained outside of the walls, and waited. Perhaps they feared trusting themselves in this immense city, in which they might have been crushed; perhaps it suited them to allow the Emperor whom they had made to be overpowered, that they might en-

The purple goes begging.

ter Constantinople as enemies. In fact, the aged Isaac was put to death, and was replaced by a prince of the imperial family, Alexius Mourzoufle, who showed himself equal to the emergency in which he accepted the Empire. He began by rejecting the captious propositions of the Venetians, who still offered to be satisfied with a sum of money. They would by this means have ruined him, and have rendered him hateful to the people, like his predecessor. Mourzoufle levied money, indeed; but it was to employ it in his own defence. He armed vessels, and twice endeavored to burn the enemy's fleet. The situation of the Latins became precarious. However, Mourzoufle could not create soldiers at once. The crusaders were warriors of a far different stamp; the Greeks could not withstand their assault; and Nicetas confesses, with infinite simplicity, that at the terrible moment the gates were burst open, a Latin knight, who overthrew all in his way, appeared fifty feet high to them.

Alexius Mourzoufle

The city taken.

The leaders endeavored to restrain the license of victory. They forbade, under pain of death, the rape of married women, or virgins, or nuns. But full scope was allowed to the avarice of the soldiery; and so enormous was the amount of the booty, that after adding fifty thousand marks to the share of the Venetians in discharge of their debt, there remained five hundred thousand marks to the Franks as

their own share. An innumerable number of precious monuments, which had been collected in Constantinople since the Empire had lost so many provinces, perished under the hands of men who wrangled for them, who wished to divide them, or who else destroyed them for destruction's sake. Nor churches nor tombs were respected; and a prostitute sang and danced in the Patriarch's pulpit. The barbarians scattered the bones of the emperors; and when they came to Justinian's tomb, found with surprise that the legislator's body betrayed no signs of decay or putrefaction. Pillage of the city.

Who was to have the honor of seating himself on Justinian's throne, and of founding the new empire? The worthiest was the aged Dandolo. But the Venetians were opposed to this: it did not suit them to give to a family what belonged to the republic. The glory of being the restorers of the empire was little to them. What these merchants desired was posts, commercial depots, a long chain of factories, which might secure them the whole of the great eastern highway. They chose for their own share the maritime coast and the islands, together with three out of the eight quarters of Constantinople, with the fantastic title of *lords of one-fourth and a half of the Roman Empire.* Attitude of the Venetians.

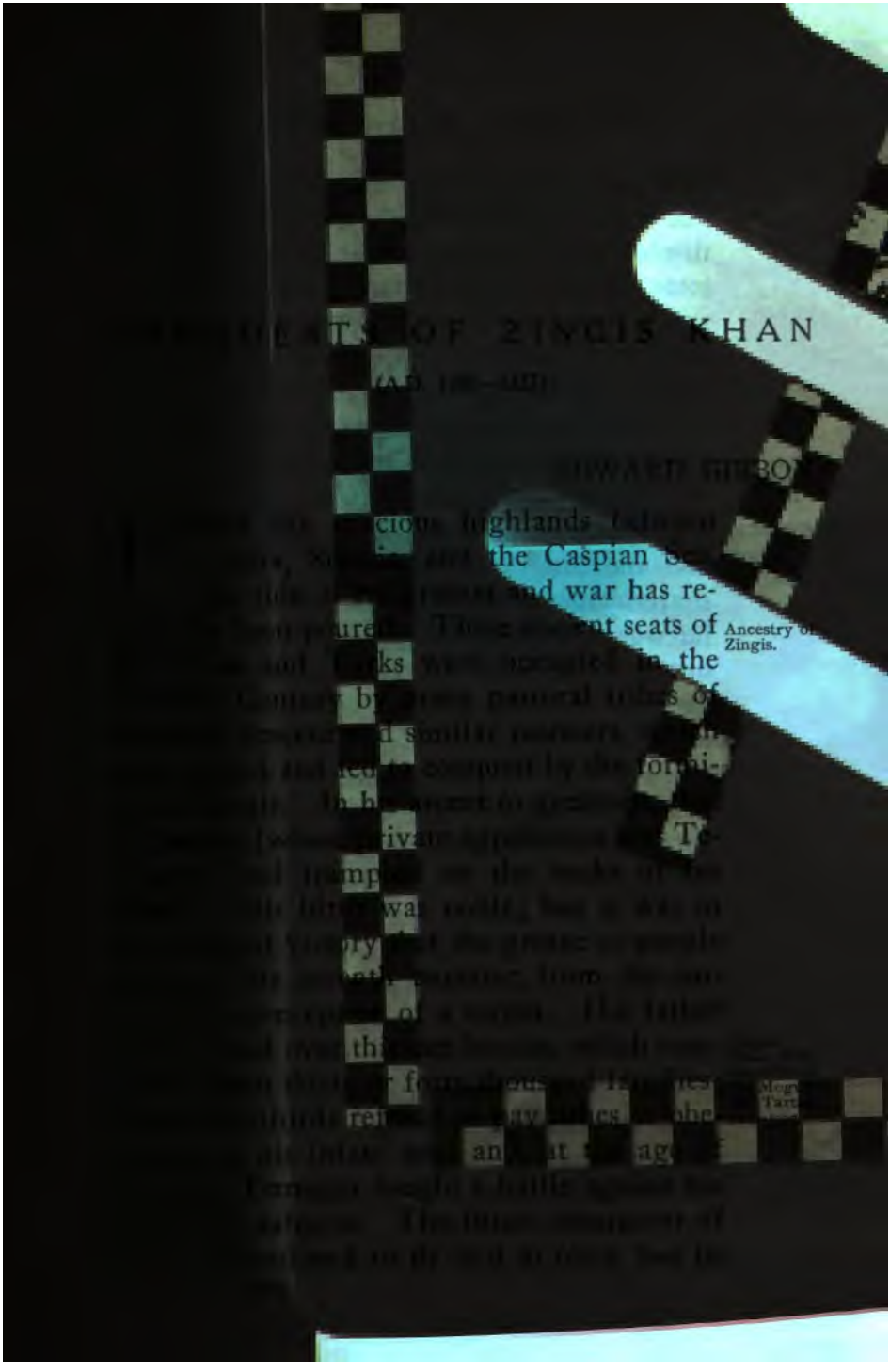
The Empire, reduced to one-fourth of its limits, was bestowed on Baldwin, Count of Baldwin chosen emperor.

Flanders, a descendant of Charlemagne, and a cousin of the King of France. The Marquis of Montserrat was contented with the kingdom of Macedon. The greatest part of the empire, and even that which devolved on the Venetians, was portioned out into fiefs.

Meagre results.

The results of this memorable event were not as great as might have been imagined. The Latin Empire of Constantinople lasted even a shorter time than the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem (only from 1204 to 1261). Venice alone derived material advantage from it, which she did largely. France gained in influence only. Her manners and language, already borne so far by the first crusade, were diffused throughout the East. And long after the fall of the Latin Empire of Constantinople —about the year 1300—the Catalan, Montaner, assures us that in the principality of the Morea and the duchy of Athens, "they spoke French as well as they did at Paris."

[The University of Paris is founded in 1206; and the Franciscan Order of Mendicant Friars is founded in 1207. The Christian kings in Spain again unite in the league of Mallen (1209); they slay 160,000 Mussulmans in the battle of Navas de Tolosa; the Almohades fall (1212).]



rose superior to his fortune; and, in his fortieth year, he had established his fame and dominion over the circumjacent tribes. In a state of society in which policy is rude and valor is universal, the ascendant of one man must be founded on his power and resolution to punish his enemies and recompense his friends. His first military league was ratified by the simple rites of sacrificing a horse and tasting of a running stream: Temugin pledged himself to divide with his followers the sweets and the bitters of life; and, when he had shared among them his horses and apparel, he was rich in their gratitude and his own hopes. After his first victory, he placed seventy caldrons on the fire, and seventy of the most guilty rebels were cast headlong into the boiling water. The sphere of his attraction was continually enlarged by the ruin of the proud and the submission of the prudent; and the boldest chieftains might tremble when they beheld, incased in silver, the skull of the Khan of the Keraites, who, under the name of Prester John, had corresponded with the Roman Pontiff and the princes of Europe. The ambition of Temugin condescended to employ the arts of superstition; and it was from a naked prophet, who could ascend to heaven on a white horse, that he accepted the title of Zingis, the Most Great; and a divine right to the conquest and dominion of the *earth.* In a general *couroultai,* or diet, he was

Barbaric rites.

seated on a felt, which was long afterward revered as a relic, and solemnly proclaimed Great Khan, or Emperor of the Moguls and Tartars. Of these kindred though rival names, the former had given birth to the Imperial race; and the latter has been extended, by accident or error, over the spacious wilderness of the north.

The laws of Zingis.

The code of laws which Zingis dictated to his subjects was adapted to the preservation of domestic peace and the exercise of foreign hostility. The punishment of death was inflicted on the crimes of adultery, murder, perjury, and the capital thefts of a horse or ox; and the fiercest of men were mild and just in their intercourse with each other. The future election of the Great Khan was vested in the princes of his family and the heads of the tribes; and the regulations of the chase were essential to the pleasures and plenty of a Tartar camp. The victorious nation was held sacred from all servile labors, which were abandoned to slaves and strangers; and every labor was servile except the profession of arms. The service and discipline of the troops, who were armed with bows, cimeters, and iron maces, and divided by hundreds, thousands, and ten thousands, were the institutions of a veteran commander. Each officer and soldier was made responsible, under pain of death, for the safety and honor of his companions; and the spirit of conquest breathed in the law that

peace should never be granted unless to a vanquished and suppliant enemy. But it is the religion of Zingis that best deserves our wonder and applause. The Catholic institutions of Europe, who defended nonsense by cruelty, might have been confounded by the example of a barbarian, who anticipated the lessons of philosophy and established by his laws a system of pure theism and perfect toleration.

His religion.

His first and only article of faith was the existence of one God, the author of all good, who fills, by his presence, the heavens and earth, which he has created by his power. The Tartars and Moguls were addicted to the idols of their peculiar tribes; and many of them had been converted by the foreign missionaries to the religions of Moses, of Mahomet, and of Christ. These various systems in freedom and concord were taught and practiced within the precincts of the same camp; and the Bonze, the Imam, the Rabbi, the Nestorian, and the Latin priest enjoyed the same honorable exemption from service and tribute. In the mosque of Bochara, the insolent victor might trample the Koran under his horse's feet, but the calm legislator respected the prophets and pontiffs of the most hostile sects.

His illiteracy.

The reason of Zingis was not informed by books; the Khan could neither read nor write; and, except the tribe of the Igours, the greater part of the Moguls and Tartars were as illiterate as their sovereign. The memory of

their exploits was preserved by tradition; sixty-eight years after the death of Zingis these traditions were collected and transcribed; the brevity of their domestic annals may be supplied by the Chinese, Persians, Armenians, Syrians, Arabians, Greeks, Russians, Poles, Hungarians, and Latins; and each nation will deserve credit in the relation of their own disasters and defeats.

The arms of Zingis and his lieutenants successively reduced the hordes of the desert, who pitched their tents between the wall of China and the Volga; and the Mogul Emperor became the monarch of the pastoral world, the lord of many millions of shepherds and soldiers, who felt their united strength, and were impatient to rush on the mild and wealthy climates of the south. His ancestors had been the tributaries of the Chinese emperors; and Temugin himself had been disgraced by a title of honor and servitude. The court of Pekin was astonished by an embassy from its former vassal, who in the tone of the king of nations exacted the tribute and obedience which he had paid, and who affected to treat the Son of Heaven as the most contemptible of mankind. A haughty answer disguised their secret apprehensions; and their fears were soon justified by the march of innumerable squadrons, who pierced on all sides the feeble rampart of the great wall. Ninety cities were stormed, or starved, by the Mo-

Invasion of China, 1210–1214.

guls; ten only escaped; and Zingis, from a knowledge of the filial piety of the Chinese, covered his vanguard with their captive parents; an unworthy and by degrees a fruitless abuse of the virtues of his enemies. His invasion was supported by the revolt of a hundred thousand Khitans, who guarded the frontier; yet he listened to a treaty; and a princess of China, three thousand horses, five hundred youths, and as many virgins, and a tribute of gold and silk, were the price of his retreat. In his second expedition, he compelled the Chinese Emperor to retire beyond the Yellow River to a more southern residence. The siege of Pekin was long and laborious: the inhabitants were reduced by famine to decimate and devour their fellow-citizens; when their ammunition was spent, they discharged ingots of gold and silver from their engines; but the Moguls introduced a mine to the centre of the capital; and the conflagration of the palace burned above thirty days. China was desolated by Tartar war and domestic faction; and the five northern provinces were added to the empire of Zingis.

Fall of Pekin.

In the West, he touched the dominions of Mohammed, Sultan of Carizme, who reigned from the Persian Gulf to the borders of India and Turkestan; and who, in the proud imitation of Alexander the Great, forgot the servitude and ingratitude of his fathers to the house of Seljuk. It was the wish of Zingis to estab-

lish a friendly and commercial intercourse with the most powerful of the Moslem princes; nor could he be tempted by the secret solicitations of the Caliph of Bagdad, who sacrificed to his personal wrongs the safety of the Church and State. A caravan of three ambassadors and one hundred and fifty merchants was arrested and murdered by Otrar, by the command of Mohammed; nor was it until after a demand and denial of justice, till he had prayed and fasted three nights on a mountain, that the Mogul Emperor appealed to the judgment of God and his sword. Our European battles, says a philosophic writer, are petty skirmishes, if compared to the numbers that have fought and fallen in the fields of Asia. Seven hundred thousand Moguls and Tartars are said to have marched under the standard of Zingis and his four sons. In the vast plains that extend to the north of the Sihon or Jaxartes, they were encountered by four hundred thousand soldiers of the Sultan; and in the first battle, which was suspended by the night, one hundred and sixty thousand Carizmians were slain. Mohammed was astonished by the multitude and valor of his enemies: he withdrew from the scene of danger, and distributed his troops in the frontier towns, trusting that the barbarians, invincible in the field, would be repulsed by the length and difficulty of so many regular sieges. But the prudence of Zingis had formed a body of Chinese en-

Desire for amity with the Moslem Empire.

Vast forces arrayed.

gineers, skilled in the mechanic arts, informed, perhaps, of the secret of gunpowder, and capable, under his discipline, of attacking a foreign country with more vigor and success than they had defended their own. The Persian historians will relate the sieges of and reduction of Otrar, Cogende, Bochara, Samarcand, Carizme, Herat, Merou, Nisabour, Balch, and Candahar; and the conquest of the rich and populous countries of Transoxiana, Carizme, and Chorasan. The destructive hostilities of Attila and the Huns have long since been elucidated by the example of Zingis and the Moguls; and in this more proper place I shall be content to observe that, from the Caspian to the Indus, they ruined a tract of many hundred miles, which was adorned with the habitations and labors of mankind, and that five centuries have not been sufficient to repair the ravages of four years. The Mogul Emperor encouraged or indulged the fury of his troops; the hope of future possessions was lost in the ardor of rapine and slaughter; and the cause of the war exasperated their native fierceness by the pretence of justice and revenge. The downfall and death of the Sultan Mohammed, who expired unpitied and alone in a desert island of the Caspian Sea, is a poor atonement for the calamities of which he was the author. Could the Carizmian Empire have been saved by a single hero, it would have been saved by his son Gelaleddin, whose

Great cities reduced.

Fall of Mohammed

active valor repeatedly checked the Moguls in the career of victory. Retreating, as he fought, to the banks of the Indus, he was oppressed by their innumerable host, till, in the last moment of despair, Gelaleddin spurred his horse into the waves, swam one of the broadest and most rapid rivers of Asia, and extorted the admiration and applause of Zingis himself. It was in this camp that the Mogul Emperor yielded with reluctance to the murmurs of his weary and wealthy troops, who sighed for the enjoyment of their native land. Incumbered with the spoils of Asia, he slowly measured back his footsteps, betrayed some pity for the misery of the vanquished, and declared his intention of rebuilding the cities which had been swept away by the tempest of his arms. After he had repassed the Oxus and Jaxartes, he was joined by two generals, whom he had detached with thirty thousand horse, to subdue the western provinces of Persia. They had trampled on the nations which opposed their passage, penetrated through the gates of Derbent, traversed the Volga and the desert, and accomplished the circuit of the Caspian Sea, by an expedition which had never been attempted and has never been repeated. The return of Zingis was signalized by the overthrow of the rebellious or independent kingdoms of Tartary; and he died in the fulness of years and glory, with his last breath exhorting and instructing his

Conquests of the generals of Zingis.

sons to achieve the conquest of the Chinese Empire.

The harem of Zingis was composed of five hundred wives and concubines; and of his numerous progeny, four sons, illustrious by their birth and merit, exercised under their father the principal offices of peace and war. Toushi was his great huntsman, Zagatai his judge, Octai his minister, and Tuli his general; and their names and actions are often conspicuous in the history of his conquests.

His successors.

Firmly united for their own and the public interest, the three brothers and their families were contented with dependent sceptres; and Octai, by general consent, was proclaimed Great Khan, or Emperor, of the Moguls and Tartars. He was succeeded by his son Gayuk, after whose death the Empire devolved to his cousins, Mangou and Cublai, the sons of Tuli, and the grandsons of Zingis. In the sixty-eight years of his first four successors, the Moguls subdued almost all Asia and a large portion of Europe.

CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES

(A.D. 1208—1229)

WILLIAM FRANCIS COLLIER

THE Papacy reached its noonday under Innocent III., who wore the tiara from 1198 to 1216. He it was who brought John to lay the crown of England at the foot of the papal chair. But we have here to speak briefly of his dealings with a nobler race than such as John—the Albigenses of Southern France. Innocent III.

Among the vines of Languedoc dwelt a people who spoke the rich musical Provençal, in which the troubadours sang of love and war. This intelligent and accomplished race looked with contempt on the vices of their clergy, as well they might, for their bishops were *roués* of high rank, and their curates mere ignorant hinds taken from the trencher or the plow. Hungering after a deeper teaching and a holier discipline than was common in their days, they scorned the dry husks of Rome; and drawing aside from the established pale, formed themselves into a separate religious society, in which they strove to realize on earth Spiritual hunger of the Albigenses.

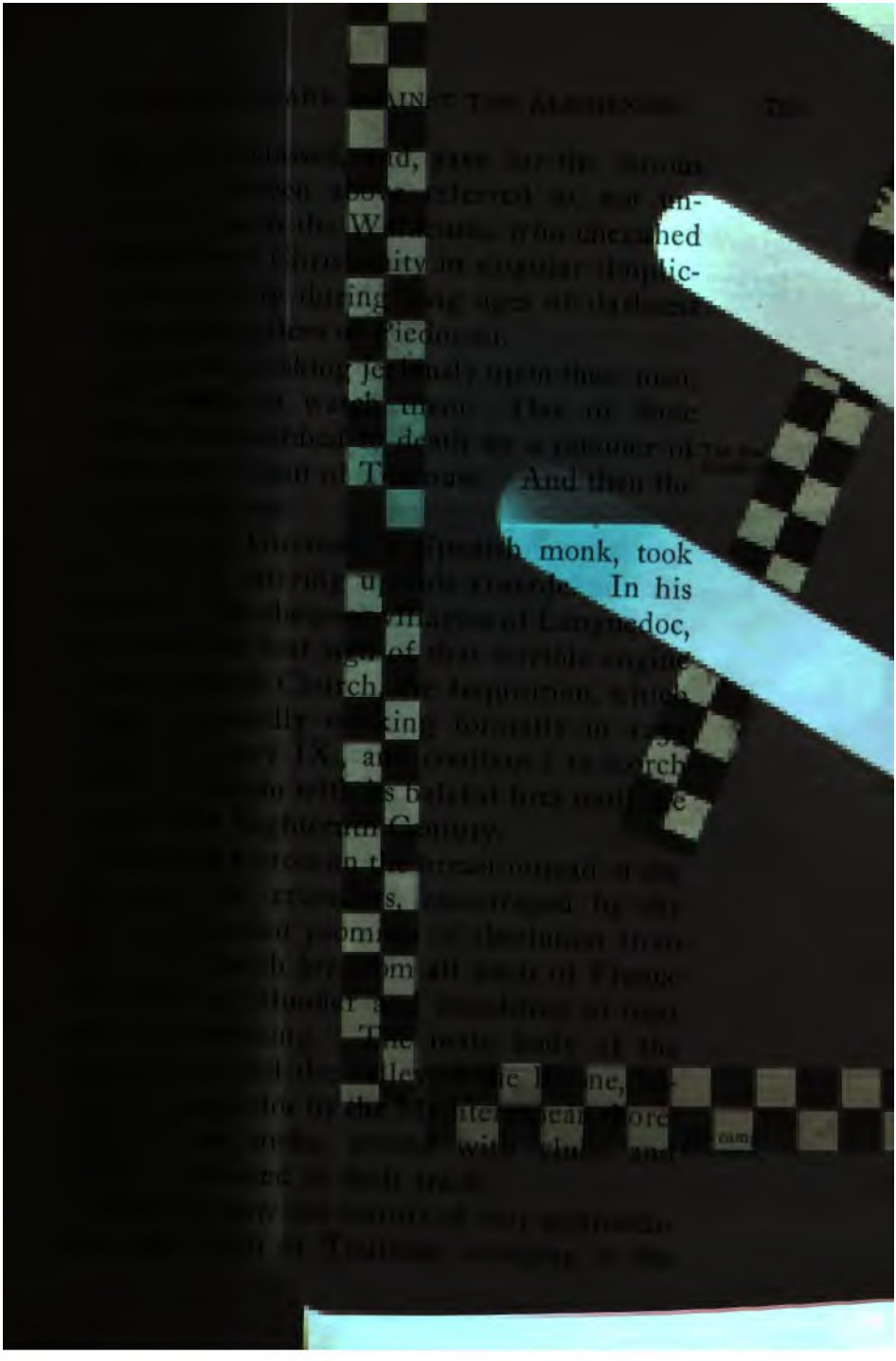
the divine ideal of the Church, as a holy nation, a peculiar people, a brotherhood of saints.

Tenets of the Albigenses.

With some peculiar tenets of their own, closely resembling those of the ancient Manichees, and which subjected them not altogether without ground to the charge of a heretical tendency, they were yet in some points faithful witnesses for the truth, and pioneers of that great Reformation struggle that was yet to come. In an age of rampant superstition and lifeless formalism they testified both by word and deed for the spirituality of religion, and of the worship of God; and even their errors were probably in large measure only an excessive reaction against the prevailing evils of the times. They denied the doctrine of the real corporeal presence. They denounced all images as idols. Their worship was simple and unadorned; and sumptuous ceremonial and gorgeous priestly vestments were alike eschewed. The holy volume lay open on the table, which, in their places of worship, supplanted the pompous altar; and the simple preaching of the word formed the most prominent feature of the service. They abounded in mortifications and fastings, and were distinguished, even by the confession of enemies, by a strictness of life which was then rare, and which went the length even of an ascetic severity.

Origin of their name.

They received the name Albigèois, or *Albigenses*, from the town of Albi. They have



legate, underwent sore humiliation to prove his penitence. But his nephew, young Raymond Roger, showed a bolder front. Dividing his forces between his strongest cities, Beziers and Carcassonne, this young noble withdrew to the latter to await the attack. The citizens of Beziers made a hot dash upon the besiegers as they were marking out a camp. But an overwhelming force driving back the *sortie,* pressed in through the open gates, and remained masters of the city. And then began a terrific scene of blood. Arnold Amalric, the legate, was asked by some officers how they were to know the heretics from the true sons of Rome. "Kill them all," said he, "the Lord will know well those who are his." Sixty thousand were slain, and the town was burned to ashes.

Capture of Beziers.

Carcassonne held out until the water began to fail. The garrison escaped by an underground passage nine miles long. Raymond Roger, surrendering, died in prison within three months; and his territories were bestowed on Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, who henceforward was the great captain of the war.

In the summer of 1210, Montfort laid siege to the Castle of Minerva near Narbonne, which, perched on a steep crag, was looked upon as the strongest place in the land. For seven weeks the Albigenses held out; but then *their* cisterns ran dry. Led to hope that their

The Castle of Minerva.

lives would be spared, they gave up the castle. But they soon found that, if they wished to live, they must confess the doctrines of Rome to be true. A heap of dry wood, filling the courtyard, was set on fire, and more than one hundred and forty men and women leaped willingly into the flames rather than deny their faith.

The whole of that land of deep-green valleys was then ravaged by Montfort and his pilgrims, as the persecuting soldiery were called: As another specimen, take the story of La Vaur. La Vaur.

This castle, lying fifteen miles from Toulouse, had long opened its hospitable gates to those Albigenses who were driven from their homes by the flames. It was looked on by the crusaders as a very nest of heresy. Five thousand men of Toulouse, banded together as the White Company, advanced to the siege. The White Company. Strange and terrible engines of war fronted the walls. One of them was the *cat*—a medieval form of the old battering-ram. It was a great wooden tower, covered with sheepskin, from whose side a heavy beam, studded with iron claws, struck and tore at the masonry till a breach was made. At first Montfort could not reach the wall, for as fast as he filled up the ditch the garrison cleared away the earth. At length, however, dislodging them from their subterranean passages with fire, he got the cat to work, and made a practicable

breach. As the knights clambered up the ruined wall, the priests, clad in full robes, chanted a hymn of joy. When the sword and the gallows had done their deadly work, a vast crowd of the captives were burned alive.

Raymond, Count of Toulouse, at last plucked up heart to face the invaders. An alliance was formed between the Albigenses and Pedro, King of Aragon. At Muret, nine miles from Toulouse, a battle was fought, in which Don Pedro was slain, and the victory rested with Montfort. The iron-clad knights of northern France were as yet more than a match for the light horse of Spain and the defenceless infantry of the Pyrenees.

Battle of Muret.

This crushing blow struck terror into the hearts of the Albigenses. The war seemed to be over, and the crusaders went home.

In 1215, we find Prince Louis, son of Philip Augustus, taking the cross against the heretics. The time allotted for the pilgrimage was six weeks, during which the chief pleasures were to be living at discretion in Languedoc, pillaging houses and castles, and singing the hymn "Veni Creator" round the burning heretics. But for that time, at least, the pleasant programme was not fulfilled, for Montfort took good care to get Louis as quickly and quietly as possible out of the land which he had conquered for himself. Toulouse and Narbonne were the two capitals of Montfort's rule.

Prince Louis.

The citizens of the former revolted, in-

spired with new courage on the return of Count Raymond. In the attempt to retake the city, Simon de Montfort was killed by the blow of a great stone on the head.

Death of Montfort.

Still the war continued with the same terrible bloodshed under the same pretence of religious zeal. But the Albigenses grew weaker. Raymond VI. died in 1222, worn out by care and age. Seven years later, his son, Raymond VII., yielded up all his territory to the King of France, receiving back a part to be held as a fief. This arrangement was called the Peace of Paris. Some vain struggles followed, for the spirit of the Albigenses was yet alive, though sorely crushed. However, the final ratification of the peace in 1242 completed the conquest of Languedoc.

Peace of Paris.

This was not only a religious persecution, but had a distinct political aim. Guizot well describes it as the re-establishment of the feudal system in the south of France, when an attempt had been made to organize society there on democratic principles. So completely was the nationality of the Albigenses trampled out, that their beautiful tongue—the *Langue d'Oc,* the sweet *Provençal* of the troubadour ballads—perished forever, as a distinct speech, from among the tongues of Europe.

THE MAGNA CHARTA

(A.D. 1215)

J. F. BRIGHT

WHILE he had been, even in the pursuit of national objects, estranging by his tyrannical conduct his own subjects, John had been carrying on his opposition to the Pope outside the limits of the kingdom; and events in Europe were rapidly approaching a crisis. Otho, the Guelphic Emperor, upon the death of his rival, had so completely succeeded, that in 1209 he had been solemnly crowned Emperor in Italy. But no sooner had he gained his object than the inevitable rivalry between Pope and Emperor again arose, and in a few years he had forfeited the Pontiff's favor so completely as to become the object of his greatest hatred; he had even been excommunicated, while the Pope found a new protegé in the young Frederick of Sicily, whose anti-papal tendencies were not at that time suspected. Similarity of circumstances rendered still closer the bond of union between John and his nephew, and in 1211 a league of excommunicated leaders was

John opposes the Pope.

formed, including all the princes of the North of Europe; Ferrand of Flanders, the Duke of Brabant, John, and Otho, were all members of it, and it was chiefly organized by the activity of Reinald of Dammartin, Count of Boulogne. The chief enemy of most of these confederates was Philip of France; and John thought he saw in this league the means of revenge against his old enemy.

League with Northern princes.

To complete the line of demarcation between the two parties, Innocent, who was greatly moved by the description of the disorders and persecutions in England, declared John's crown forfeited, and intrusted the carrying out of the sentence to Philip. In 1213, armies were collected on both sides, Philip was already on the Channel, and John had assembled a large army on Barhamdown, not far from Canterbury. But Innocent probably never intended to proceed to extremities. To embroil two Christian nations would have been to thwart one of his greatest objects, which was a new crusade. But he knew his man; he knew the weakness which was hidden under the violence and ostentatious passion of John, and he also well knew from his emissaries in England the widespread disaffection there. While the army was still lying in its camp, there appeared at Dover Pandulf, as the Pope's legate. He demanded and obtained an audience with the King, and there explained to him the gravity of his position.

John is deposed.

He found means to bring home to his mind the perfect insecurity of his position at home, while John, from his own experience, knew both the power and the skill of Philip. The consciousness of his danger destroyed his boastful obstinacy, and he made an unconditional submission. The paper which he signed was drawn up almost in the very words of the demands of Pandulf. He offered to plead before the Papal Court; he promised peace and a good reception to Langton, the other bishops, and banished laity; he was to restore all Church property, and to make restitution for all loss since the interdict. Having accepted these conditions, the King went further. On the 15th of May, at Dover, he formally resigned the crowns of England and Ireland into the hands of Pandulf, and received them again as the Pope's feudatory.

Surrender of the crown to the Pope.

It was not without ulterior objects that John took this disgraceful step. He believed that he saw in it a way out of all his difficulties, and the means of revenging himself upon his enemies. He had no intention of allowing his new position to interfere with his continental alliances, and it was to their success that he looked to re-establish his power. When Philip of France was no longer the agent of Papal authority, he believed that it would be possible for him to resist the storm that was gathering round him. He expected that one great victory would go far to give him back

John's improved position.

his lost French dominions, when the prestige of success, the friendship of the Church, and the increase of power derived from his regained dominions, would make him master of the situation in England. At first all seemed to work as he wished. Pandulf immediately hurried to France, and forbade Philip to attack the Pope's new vassal. The opportune attacks of Ferrand of Flanders diverted the French army toward the dominions of that prince; the English fleet which was sent to assist the Flemings destroyed the whole French shipping in the port of Damme; the Archbishop Langton was received with honor, John threw himself at his feet, reconciled himself with the Church, issued writs to all the churches to inquire into the amount of damages to be restored, and ordered a great council to meet at St. Albans to settle finally the restitution of the Church property. He then summoned his barons to meet him, and join him in an attack upon Poitou. But he was mistaken, both in the character of the Churchman, in whom he hoped to find an obedient servant of the Papal See, and in the amount of dissatisfaction among his nobles. The barons of the North refused to follow him, and the meeting at St. Albans resulted, not in a settlement of Church difficulties, but in the open declaration of the complaints of all classes. A few weeks after, Langton, who had seen through the character of John, and was

Destruction of the French fleet

Langton abandons John.

Renewed difficulties with Stephen Langton.

full of hatred of his tyranny, met an assembly of malcontents at St. Paul's in London, and there declaring that he had found documentary proof of their rights, produced the coronation charter of Henry I., which was at once accepted by the barons as the declaration of the views and demands of their party.

In the meantime, two events had happened disastrous to the royal cause. Nicholas of Tusculum had arrived as Papal legate, and the justiciary Godfrey Fitz-Peter had died. The legate, ignorant of the feelings of the English, and eager to support and make real the Papal authority, had thoroughly adopted the King's cause. He threatened the clergy unless they at once accepted the arrangements which the King offered; and although it was the very thing which had before excited the anger of the Pope, he proceeded to fill vacant benefices with the devoted adherents of the royal party. In the place of the experienced Fitz-Peter, who, however far he might have strained the administrative power of the crown, had yet exercised a wholesome restraint on the King, Peter des Roches was raised to the office of justiciary, and appointed to be the representative of the crown during John's absence in France. The people saw themselves, as they thought, both in spiritual and temporal matters in the hands of the tyrant. A great success abroad might yet have checked the growing disaffection. The King

Peter des Roches appointed justiciary.

led an army to Rochelle. At first he was successful everywhere. He overran Poitou, and crossing the Loire captured Anger, but the Poitevin barons had been too deeply injured by him to be faithful friends; their disaffection soon compelled him to retire. But the great confederation was at work upon all sides. The Count of Flanders was pressing in upon the North, Otho was advancing from Germany. In July a junction was made at Valenciennes. Thither Philip now betook himself; he was followed faithfully by most of his great nobles, and by the militia of the chartered cities. The whole success of his policy was at stake. A defeat would ruin the object of his life—the establishment of the royal power in France. For Otho too the stake was high; the triumph of the Guelphic house in its long war against the Hohenstaufen would be the fruit of victory. For such prizes the battle of Bouvines was fought, at a small place upon the little river Marque. The fortune of the day was with the French; in all directions they were victorious. Both for Otho and John the defeat may be said to have been final; the Emperor withdrew to his hereditary dominions in Brunswick, where, after some not very important fighting, he died in 1218. John returned, having lost his last hope of re-establishing his power at home by foreign conquests.

Successes of John.

Battle of Bouvines.

He returned to England to find himself in a worse position than ever; for Innocent had

found out the errors his legate had committed, and recalled him; and John had lost another of his most trusty counsellors by the death of the Bishop of Norwich. Thus left to his own resources, with his usual folly he took the opportunity of demanding a heavy scutage from those barons who had not followed him abroad. The nobles of the North rose. A meeting was held in November at Bury St. Edmunds, and it was there determined that they would make their formal demands upon the King in arms at Christmas time. John was keeping his Christmas at Worcester; but having no doubt heard of the action of the barons, hurried to London, where they appeared before him in arms. He demanded till Easter for consideration. The time was given him. He used it in an attempt to sow dissension among his enemies. He granted to the Church the free right of election, hoping thereby to draw Langton from the confederation. He took the oaths of the crusader to put himself more immediately under the guardianship of the Church, and hastily summoned troops of mercenaries from Poitou.

Insurrection in England.

The barons at once reassembled at Brackley. At their head was Fitz-Walter, an old enemy of the King, and William Marshall, son of the Earl of Pembroke. Their strength consisted of the nobles of the North—and they were spoken of as the Northerners—but many *barons* from other parts of England joined

Meeting at Brackley.

them, and in spite of various compromises offered by the King, they laid siege to the castle of Northampton. They there received messages of adherence from the Mayor and citizens of London, into which city they were received in May; and thus masters of the greater part of England, and of the capital, they compelled John to receive them and hear their demands at Runnymede, a meadow by the Thames's side not far from Staines. There was signed, on the 15th of June, the paper of forty-nine articles, which they presented, and which were afterward drawn up into the shape of the sixty-three articles of the Great Charter.

Capture of London.

Runnymede.

That Great Charter was the joint work of the insurgent lords, and of those who still in name remained faithful to the crown. In many points this rising of the barons bears the appearance of an ordinary feudal insurrection. Closer examination proves that it was of a different character. The very success of Henry II. in his great plan of national regeneration had tended to change the character of English politics. Till his time, the bulk of the people had regarded the crown on the whole as a defence against their feudal tyrants. In the pursuit of good government he had crushed the feudal nobles, and had welded Norman and English into one nation. In so doing, he had greatly increased the royal power; for in those early times good government invariably implied a strong mon-

Henry the Second's work.

archy. In patriotic hands his work might have continued. But when the increased royal power passed to reckless rulers, such as Richard and John, it enabled them to play the part of veritable tyrants. They had used this power in ruthlessly pillaging the people. The great justiciaries, Hubert and Fitz-Peter, content with keeping order and retaining constitutional forms, had almost of necessity lent themselves to this course, while lesser officials had undoubtedly acted with arbitrary violence. The interests of the King and his ministers had thus become separated from those of the nation. To oppose this tyranny, nobles and people could now act in concert. The struggle was no longer between King and people on one side against the nobles on the other, but nobles and people had joined against the King. Besides this political change, a great revolution had taken place in the character of the nobility itself. The feudal nobles, the friends of the Conqueror, had for the most part given place to a new nobility, the sons of the counsellors and ministers of Henry II. In the centre of England alone did remnants of the old feudal families remain. The insurrection then, coming from the North, was the work not of feudal barons but of the new ministerial baronage. Again, the claims raised, although, inasmuch as the monarchy was still in form a feudal monarchy, they bear a resemblance to feudal

The crown and nation in antagonism.

claims, were such as might have been expected from men trained in the habits of administration. They were claims for the redress of abuses of constitutional power, and were based upon a written document. In addition to this, they were supported by the clergy, who were never and could never be feudal in their views, and by the towns, whose interests were always opposed to those of the feudal nobility. There is another thing to be recollected; the Charter, as ultimately granted, was not the same as the demands of the barons. A considerable number of the older barons, of the bishops, and even the archbishop himself, remained ostensibly true to the King, and were present at Runnymede as his followers. We are told that it was the younger nobles who formed the strength of the reforming party. Nevertheless, with the exception of the King's actual ministers, and of those foreigners the introduction of whom was one of his gravest errors, the whole of John's own following acknowledged the justice of the baronial claims, sympathized with the demands raised, and joined in putting them into the best shape. The movement was in fact, even where not in form, national.

Character of the claims.

The terms of the Charter were in accordance with this state of affairs. To the Church were secured its rights and the freedom of election (1). To the feudal tenants just arrangements in the matters of wardship, of

Terms of the Charter.

heirship, widowhood, and marriage (2-8). Scutage and aids, which John had from the beginning of his reign taken as a matter of course, were henceforward to be granted by the great council of the kingdom, except in three cases, the deliverance of the king from prison, the knighting of his eldest son, and the marriage of his eldest daughter (12). The same right was secured by the immediate tenants to their sub-tenants. The great council was to consist of archbishops, bishops, and abbots, counts and greater barons, summoned severally by writ, and of the rest of the tenants-in-chief, summoned by general writ to the sheriff (14). The lands of sub-tenants, seized by the king for treason or felony, were to be held by him for a year only, and then to be handed over to the tenant's immediate lord (32). Similarly the crown was no longer to claim wardship in the case of sub-tenants, nor to change the custom of escheated baronies, nor to fill up vacancies in private abbeys (43, 46). These are all distinct regulations of feudal relations. The more general acts of tyranny of the crown were guarded against, by fixing the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster (17); by the settlement of land processes by itinerant justices in the counties where the disputes arose (18); by the limitations of punishments within reasonable limits (20-22); by the restriction of the powers of constables, sheriffs, and other royal officers, both in the

General tyranny guarded against.

matter of royal lawsuits and of purveyance (28-31); by an article (36), which is held to foreshadow the Habeas Corpus Act, stipulating the immediate trial of prisoners; and by other articles (38-40), which are held to foreshadow trial by jury, and which forbid the passing of sentence except on the verdict of a man's equals, and witness upon oath. Other points secured their liberties to the free towns and to merchants. This Charter was to be guaranteed by the appointment of a committee of twenty-five nobles, any four of whom might claim redress for infractions of it, and upon refusal proceed to make war upon the king.

Trial by jury.

This Charter, which with its final clause implied absolute submission, John never intended to keep. No sooner were his first ebullitions of anger over than he proceeded to take steps for destroying it. Messengers were at once sent to Rome to get it annulled, and to Poitou to collect mercenaries. Troops came over in crowds, and the barons in alarm ordered William D'Albini to attack the castle of Rochester. He seized it, but was there besieged, and compelled to surrender to John's mercenaries. All the common men of the garrison were hanged. John's other message was equally successful. A letter from Innocent announced that he totally disallowed the Charter, and ordered Langton to excommunicate the King's enemies. This he refused

John's bad faith.

to do, and other excommunications and interdicts were also futile. John's temporal weapons were more successful. He overran England with his mercenaries, and the barons found themselves obliged to summon Louis of France to their assistance. Louis' wife was John's niece, and they probably intended to use this connection to change the dynasty.

John's vengeance.

His success was not very rapid, though at first he seemed to have the game in his hands. He wasted his time and lost his opportunity before the castles of Dover and Windsor. His conduct also in bestowing fiefs upon his French followers began to excite the jealousy of the English; and John's cause was again wearing a more hopeful appearance, when, marching from Lincoln, which he had lately conquered, he crossed the Wash, with all his supplies which he had lately drawn from Lynn. The rise of the tide destroyed the whole of his train, and, broken by his loss, or perhaps poisoned, or perhaps a victim to his greediness, he died on the 19th of October at Newark. In July of the same year he had lost his great protector, Innocent III.

John's death.

[Andrew, King of Hungary, begins the Fifth Crusade in 1218; Damietta is taken and Cairo threatened in 1219; but the army is utterly ruined in 1221. The first Norwegian parliament (Storthing) is held at Bergen by *Haco I.* in 1223.]

ORDER OF THE TEUTONIC KNIGHTS

(A.D. 1226)

HENRY HART MILMAN

THE order of the Knights Templars had come to a disastrous and ignominious end. The Knights of St. John or of the Hospital, now that the Holy Land was irrecoverably lost, had planted themselves in Rhodes, as a strong outpost and bulwark of Christendom, which they held for some centuries against the Turco-Mohammedan power; and, when it fell, almost buried themselves in its ruins. At the same time, less observed, less envied, less famous, the Teutonic Order was winning to itself from heathendom (more after the example of Charlemagne than of Christ's Apostles) a kingdom, of which the Order was, for a time, to be the Sovereign, and which hereafter, conjoined with one of the great German principalities, was to become an important state, the kingdom of Prussia. The Teutonic Order

The Orders of the Temple and of St. John owed, the former their foundation, the latter their power and wealth, to noble knights. They were military and aristocratic brother-

hoods, which hardly deigned to receive, at least in their higher places, any but those of gentle birth. The founders of the Teutonic Order were honest, decent, and charitable burghers of Lübeck and Bremen. After the disasters which followed the death of Frederick Barbarossa, when the army was wasting away with disease and famine before Acre, these merchants from the remote shores of the Baltic ran up the sails of their ships into tents to receive the sick and starving. They were joined by the brethren of a German hospital, which had been before founded in Jerusalem, and had been permitted by the contemptuous compassion of Saladin to remain for some time in the city. Duke Frederick of Swabia saw the advantage of a German Order, both to maintain the German interests and to relieve the necessities of German pilgrims. Their first house was in Acre.

How the Order was founded.

But it was not till the Mastership of Herman of Salza that the Teutonic Order emerged into distinction. That remarkable man adhered in unshaken fidelity to the fortunes of the Emperor Frederick II.; and Frederick no doubt more highly honored the Teutonic Order because it was commanded by Herman of Salza, and more highly esteemed Herman of Salza as master of an Order which alone in Palestine did not thwart, oppose, insult the German Emperor. It is the noblest testimony to the wisdom, unimpeached virtue, honor,

Herman of Salza.

and religion of Herman of Salza, that the successive popes, Honorius III., Gregory IX., Innocent IV., who agreed with Frederick in nothing else, with whom attachment to Frederick was enmity and treason to the Church, or absolute impiety, nevertheless vied with the Emperor in the honor and respect paid to the master Herman, and in grants and privileges to his Teutonic Knights.

The Order, now entirely withdrawn, as become useless, from the Holy Land, had found a new sphere for their crusading valor: the subjugation and conversion of the heathen nations to the southeast and the east of the Baltic. Theirs was a complete Mohammedan invasion, the gospel or the sword. The avowed object was the subjugation, the extermination, if they would not be subjugated, of the Prussian, Lithuanian, Esthonian, and other kindred or conterminous tribes, because they were infidels. They had refused to listen to the pacific preachers of the gospel, and pacific preachers had not been wanting. Martyrs to the faith had fallen on the dreary sands of Prussia, in the forests and morasses of Livonia and Esthonia.

A new field of activity.

The Pope and the Emperor concurred in this alone—in their right to grant away all lands, it might be kingdoms, won from unbelievers. The Charter of Frederick II. runs in a tone of as haughty supremacy as those of Honorius, Gregory, or Innocent IV.

Frederick's haughty Charter

These tribes had each their religion, the dearer to them as the charter of their liberty. It was wild, no doubt superstitious and sanguinary. They burned slaves, like other valuables, on the graves of their departed great men.

For very many years the remorseless war went on. The Prussians rose and rose again in revolt; but the inexhaustible Order pursued its stern course. It became the perpetual German crusade. Wherever there was a martial and restless noble, who found no adventure, or no enemy, in his immediate neighborhood; wherever the indulgences and rewards of this religious act, the fighting for the Cross, were wanted, without the toil, peril, and cost of a journey to the Holy Land, the old but now decried, now unpopular crusade; whoever desired more promptly and easily to wash off his sins in the blood of the unbeliever, rushed into the Order, and either enrolled himself as a Knight, or served for a time under the banner. There is hardly a princely or a noble house in Germany which did not furnish some of its illustrious names to the roll of Teutonic Knights.

Perpetual German crusade.

So at length, by their own good swords, and what they no doubt deemed a more irrefragable title, the grants of Popes and Emperors, the Order became Sovereigns; a singular sovereignty, which descended, not by hereditary *succession*, but by the incorporation of new

Sovereignty of the Order.

Knights into the Order. The whole land became the absolute property of the Order, to be granted out but to Christians only; apostasy forfeited all title to land. Their subjects were of two classes: I. The old Prussian, converted to Christianity after the conquest. Baptism was the only way to become a freeman, a man. The conquered unbeliever who remained an unbeliever was the slave, the property of his master, as much as his horse or hound. The three ranks which subsisted among the Prussians, as in most of the Teutonic and kindred tribes, remained under Christianity and the sovereignty of the Order. The great land-owners, the owners of castles, held immediately of the Order: their estates had descended from heathen times. These were: 1, the Withings; 2, the lower vassals; and, 3, those which answered to the Leudes and Lita of the Germans, retained their rank and place in the social scale. All were bound to obey the call to war, to watch and ward; to aid in building and fortifying the castles and strongholds of the Order. II. The German immigrants or colonists. These were all equally under the feudal sovereignty of the Order. The cities and towns were all German. The Prussian seems to have disdained or to have had no inclination to the burgher-life. There were also German villages, each under its Schultheiss, and with its own proper government.

Subjects of two classes.

Vassals of the Pope and of the Emperor.

Thus was Christendom pushing forward its borders. These new provinces were still added to the dominion of Latin Christianity. The Pope grants, the Teutonic Order hold their realm on the conjoint authority of the successor of Cæsar and of St. Peter. As a religious order, they are the unreluctant vassals of the Pope; as Teutons, they owe some undefined subordination to the Emperor.

[In 1224, Russia suffers the first Mongol invasion. Castile and Leon are united under one crown in 1230. Frederick II. heads the Fifth Crusade. Fifth Crusade in 1228, and obtains the restitution of Jerusalem and several other cities, which the Christians hold till 1244. Mohammed I. founds the kingdom of Granada in 1238. Origin of the Hanseatic League, 1245. In 1235, the Karismian Turks, driven forward by the Mongols, invade Palestine. They sack and burn Jerusalem. Sixth Crusade. St. Louis of France sets out on the Sixth Crusade in 1248. He sails to Egypt, takes Damietta (1249); is taken prisoner on his march to Cairo; released in 1250; sails to Acre and there wastes four years, unable to visit Jerusalem. The Mamelukes assassinate the Sultan and make themselves masters of Egypt (1250). Alfonso XII. of Castile has the Astronomical Tables compiled (1253). Huluku, brother of the great Khan, enters Persia, *becomes* Sultan and extirpates the Assassins

THE BARONS' WAR AND FIRST ENGLISH PARLIAMENT

(A.D. 1257–1265)

WILLIAM STUBBS

THE struggle opens at the parliament held at Mid-Lent at Westminster, in 1257, when the King presented his son Edmund to the barons as King of Sicily, and announced that he had pledged the kingdom to the Pope for 140,000 marks. He demanded an aid, a tenth of all church revenue, and the income of all vacant benefices for five years. The clergy remonstrated. The ears of all tingled, says the historian, and their hearts died within them, but he succeeded in obtaining 52,000 marks, and was encouraged to try again. This he did the next year, 1258, at a parliament held soon after Easter at London. Every one brought up his grievances; the King insisted on having money. The Pope had pledged himself to the merchants, Henry had pledged himself to the Pope; was all Christendom to be bankrupt? The barons listened with impatience; at last the time was come for reform, and the King was obliged

Parliament of 1258.

to yield. On May 2 he consented that a parliament should be called at Oxford within a month after Whitsuntide, and that then and there a commission of twenty-four persons should be constituted, twelve members of the royal council already chosen and twelve elected by the barons; then if the barons would do their best to get the King out of his difficulties by a pecuniary aid, he would, with the advice of these twenty-four, draw up measures for the reform of the state of the kingdom, the royal household and the Church.

At Oxford the Parliament met on June 11, and the barons presented a long list of grievances which they insisted should be reformed. If this list be compared with the list of grievances on which Magna Charta was drawn up, it will be found that many points are common to the two documents. We may thus infer that notwithstanding the constant confirmations of the charters which were issued by the King, the observance of them was evaded by violence or by chicanery; that the King enforced some of the most offensive feudal rights, and that his officers found little check on their exactions. Castles had been multiplied, the itinerant judges had made use of their office to exact large sums in the shape of fines, and the sheriffs had oppressed the country in the same way. English fortresses had been placed in the hands of foreigners, and the forest laws had been disregarded. A

Parliament at Oxford.

great number of other evil customs are now recounted.

These grievances were to be redressed before the end of the year; and the aliens were to be removed at once from all places of trust. But this was not the most critical part of the business. The Provisions of Oxford, as they were called, were intended to be much more than an enforcement of Magna Charta; a body of twenty-four was chosen, twelve by the King, twelve by the earls and barons, to reform the grievances. It is this framework of government, the permanent council of fifteen, the three annual parliaments, the representation of the community of the realm through twelve representative barons, that is historically known as the Constitution of the Provisions of Oxford. Henry was again and again forced to swear to it, and to proclaim it throughout the country. The grievances of the barons were met by a set of ordinances called the Provisions of Westminster, which were produced after some trouble in October, 1259. Before the scheme had begun to work the foreign favorites and kinsmen fled from the court and were allowed to quit the country with some scanty remnant of their ill-gotten gains. Their departure left the royalist members of the new administration in a hopeless minority.

Provisions of Oxford.

England had now, it would appear, adopted a new form of government, but it must have

been already sufficiently clear that so many rival interests and ambitious leaders would not work together, that Henry would avail himself of the first pretext for repudiating his promises, and that a civil war would almost certainly follow. The first year of this provisional government passed away quietly. The King of the Romans, who returned from Germany in January, 1259, was obliged to swear to the provisions. In November, Henry went to France, returning in April, 1260. Immediately on his return he began to intrigue for the overthrow of the government, sent for absolution to Rome, and prepared for war. Edward, his eldest son, tried to prevent him from breaking his word, but before the King had begun the contest the two great earls had quarrelled; Gloucester could not bear Leicester, Leicester could not bear a rival. A general reconciliation was the prelude as usual to a general struggle. In February, 1261, Henry repudiated his oath, and seized the Tower. In June, he produced a papal Bull which absolved him from his oath to observe the Provisions. The chiefs of the government, Leicester and Gloucester, took up arms, but they avoided a battle. The summer was occupied with preparations for a struggle, and peace was made in the winter. In 1262, Henry went again to France for six months, and on his return again swore to the Provisions; that year the Earl of Gloucester died,

Disunion among the barons.

Gloucester and Leicester quarrel.

and Edward began to draw nearer to his father. Simon was without a rival, and no doubt created in Edward that spirit of jealous mistrust which never again left him. The next year was one of open war. The young Earl of Gloucester refused to swear allegiance to Edward; Simon insisted that the pertinacious aliens should be again expelled. Twice if not three times in this year Henry was forced to confirm the Provisions; but Edward saw that they had now become a mere form under which the sovereignty of Simon de Montfort was scarcely hidden; and the increasing conviction of this induced the barons to refer the whole question to the arbitration of Louis IX. of France. This was done on December 16, 1263. The conduct of the barons after the award of Louis IX. seems to place them in the wrong, and to show either that Simon de Montfort's views had developed, under the late changes, in the direction of personal ambition and selfish ends, or that other causes were at work of which we have no information. Both parties equally bound themselves to abide by the arbitration.

The Barons' War, 1263.

Henry took the wise course of being personally present on the occasion and taking his son Edward with him. Some of the barons also appeared in person, but not the Earl of Leicester, who was supporting the Welsh princes in their war with Mortimer, a method of continuing the struggle which was neither

honest nor patriotic. At Amiens, Louis heard the cause, and did not long hesitate about his answer, which was delivered on January 23, 1264. By this award the King of France entirely annulled the Provisions of Oxford, and all engagements which had been made respecting them. Not content with doing this in general terms, he forbade the making of new statutes, as proposed and carried out in the Provisions of Westminster, ordered the restoration of the royal castles to the King, restored to him the power of nominating the officers of state and the sheriffs, the nomination of whom had been withdrawn from him by the Provisions of Oxford; he annulled the order that natives of England alone should govern the realm of England, and added that the King should have full and free power in his kingdom as he had had in time past. The arbitrator, however, added that all the charters issued before the time of the Provisions should hold good, and that all parties should condone enmities and injuries arising from the late troubles.

Award of Amiens.

Louis mentions as his chief motive for thus giving the verdict practically in the King's favor, the fact that the Provisions had already been annulled by the Pope, and the parties bound by them released from their oaths.

Motives of the verdict.

The award was entirely in favor of the crown. The new form of government was already giving way, and both parties might have

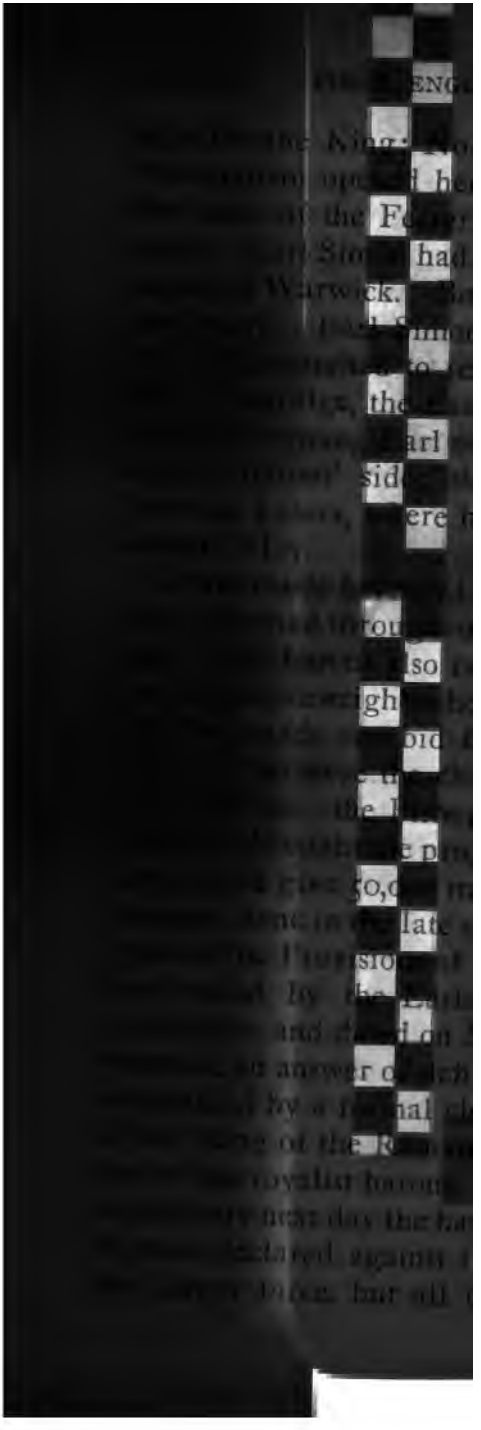
and ought to have submitted to the sentence. Henry had had a severe lesson, and might not offend again; the baronage had had their chance, and had been found wanting both in unity of aim and in administrative power. Neither party, however, acquiesced in the admonition, and each of course laid on the other the blame of disregarding a judgment by which both had sworn to stand. At first the war was continued on the Welsh marches principally; Edward's forces assisting Mortimer, and Montfort continuing to support Llewelyn, the Prince of Wales, his opponent. But when the King returned from France, as he did in February, the struggle became general.

Effects of the award.

Responsibility of the struggle.

The responsibility of this rests unquestionably with Simon de Montfort; how far he was justified by the greatness of the necessity, is another question. He had the sympathy of the Londoners, which was probably shared by the burghers of the great towns, that of the clergy, except those who were led by the Pope entirely, of the universities, and of the great body of the people. The barons by themselves would have treated with the King; they would probably have thrown over Earl Simon, if only they could have got rid of the foreigners, and had England for the English. On March 31, however, while negotiations were proceeding, the Londoners broke into riot against the King, and he in his anger put an *end to* the consultation. The war began favor-

Military successes of the King and of Simon de Montfort



earnestness was on the side of the barons. Simon, who had broken his leg a few months before—an accident which prevented him from going to meet the King of France at Amiens—had been obliged to use a carriage during the late marches; he now posted his carriage in a conspicuous place, and himself went elsewhere. Edward, thinking that if he could capture the Earl, the struggle would be over, attacked the post where the carriage was seen, routed and pursued the defenders, and going too far in pursuit, left his father exposed to the attack of the Earl. King Henry was a brave man, but of course no general, for he had never seen anything like real war before. He defended himself stoutly; two horses were killed under him, and he was wounded and bruised by the swords and maces of his adversaries, who were in close hand-to-hand combat. When he had lost most of his immediate retainers, he retreated into the priory of Lewes. The King of the Romans, who had commanded the centre of the royal army, was already compelled to retreat, and, while Henry was still struggling, had been taken captive in a windmill, which made the adversaries very merry. A general rout followed. The baronial party was victorious long before Edward returned from his unfortunate pursuit, and many of the King's most powerful friends secured themselves by flight. The next day an *arbitration* was determined on, called the Mise

King Henry's peril.

Victory of the Barons.

of Lewes, and the King gave himself and his son into the hands of Simon, who, from that time to the end of the struggle in the next year, ruled in the King's name.

The Mise of Lewes contained seven articles, the most important of which prescribed the employment of native counsellors, and bound the King to act by the advice of the council which would be provided for him. Measures were also taken for obtaining a new arbitration. Thus England for the second time within seven years passed under a new constitution. The system devised at the Council of Oxford in 1258 was not revived, but a parliament was called to devise or ratify a new scheme. This assembly comprised four knights from each shire, as well as the ordinary elements, the bishops and abbots, earls and barons, who formed the usual parliament. In it the new form of government was drawn up. This time the King was bound to act by the advice of nine counsellors. Of the nine three were to be in constant attendance on the King, and his sovereign authority was, in fact, to be exercised by and through them. They were to nominate the great functionaries of the state and the other ministers whose appointment had before rested with the King, and their authority was to last until all the points of controversy were settled by the arbitration provided in the Mise of Lewes. The Mise of Lewes.

These men governed England until the bat-

tle of Evesham. But their reign was not an easy or peaceful one. The Pope was still zealous for Henry, and left no means untried by which the bishops might be detached from the barons. The Queen collected a great army in France and prepared to invade England, assisted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, her uncle, and all the English refugees who had come under the rod of Earl Simon. Mortimer also made an attempt to prolong the state of war on the border. Nothing, however, came of these preparations during this year: the new government professed itself to be provisional, and negotiations were resumed, by which the King of France, now better informed, was to settle all controversies. In December a summons went forth for a new parliament.

Troubles of the new government.

This is the famous Parliament, as it is called, of Simon de Montfort, the first assembly of the sort to which representatives of the borough towns were called; and thus to some extent forms a landmark in English history. It was not made a precedent, and in fact it is not till thirty years after that the representatives of the towns begin regularly to sit in parliament; but it is nevertheless a very notable date. Nor was the assembly itself what would be called a full and free parliament, only those persons being summoned who were favorable to the new *régîme;* but five earls and eighteen barons, and an overwhelming number of the

The Parliament of Simon de Montfort.

lower clergy, knights, and burghers, who were of course supporters of Earl Simon. It met on January 20, 1265, and did not effect much. Edward, however, was allowed to make terms for his liberation, and Simon secured for himself and his family the earldom of Chester, giving up to Edward, however, other estates by way of exchange.

Already, however, dissensions were springing up. Earl Simon's sons, who did very little credit to his instructions, and on whom perhaps some of the blame may rest of which otherwise it is impossible to acquit their father, managed to offend the Earl of Gloucester. They challenged the Clares to a tournament at Dunstable. When they were ready and already angry and prepared to turn the festive meeting into a battle, it was suddenly stopped by the King or by Earl Simon, acting in his name. Gloucester and his kinsmen deemed themselves insulted, and immediately began to negotiate with the Mortimers; and, when hostilities were just beginning, Edward escaped from his honorable keeping at Hereford and joined the party.

Impolicy of Earl Simon's sons.

Escape of Edward.

From this point action is rapid. Simon, with the King in his train, marched into the West, and advanced into South Wales. Edward and Gloucester, joined by Mortimer, mustered their adherents in the Cheshire and Shropshire country, and then rushed down by way of Worcester on the town of Gloucester,

which surrendered on June 29, thus cutting off the Earl's return. The younger Simon de Montfort, the Earl's second son, being summoned to his father's aid, came up from Pevensey, which he was besieging, plundered Winchester, and took up his position at Kenilworth. His father meantime had got back to Hereford and formed a plan for surrounding Edward. Edward, however, had now learned vigilance and caution. He took the initiative, succeeded in routing the young Simon and nearly capturing Kenilworth, and thus turned the tables on the Earl. Simon marched on to Evesham, expecting to meet his son; instead of his son he met his nephew; and, on August 4, the battle fought there reversed the judgment of Lewes. There the great Earl fell, and with him Hugh le Despenser, the barons' justiciar, fighting bravely, but without much hope.

Battle of Evesham, and death of Earl Simon.

The interest of the reign, and indeed its importance, ends here. Simon is the hero of the latter part of it, and the death of Simon closes it, although the King reigns for seven years longer. The war does not end here: the remnant of the baronial party held out at Kenilworth until October, 1266. There the last supporters of Earl Simon, the men whose attitude toward Henry was unpardonable, had made their stand. The final agreement which was drawn up at the siege, and which is called the Dictum de Kenilworth, was intended to

Dictum de Kenilworth

settle all differences, and for the most part it did so, by allowing those who had incurred the penalty of forfeiture to redeem their possessions by fines. But until the end of 1267 there were constant outbreaks. The Isle of Ely was made the refuge of one set, just as it had been two hundred years before, in the time of the Conqueror. The Earl of Gloucester raised the banner of revolt, declaring that the King was dealing too hardly with the victims, and the Londoners were very loth indeed to lose the power and advantages which they had secured by their alliance with Simon. But gradually all the storm subsided. In the parliament of Marlborough, in November, 1267, the King renewed the Provisions of Westminster of 1259, by which the most valuable legal reforms of the constitutional party became embodied in statutes. In 1268, the papal legate held a council for the permanent maintenance of peace, and Edward, with many of the leading nobles, took the Cross. In 1270, they went on Crusade, and the Londoners were restored to favor. In December, 1271, the King of the Romans died, broken-hearted at the loss of his son Henry, who was murdered by the Montforts at Viterbo. In 1272, on November 16, Henry III. died; and so completely was the kingdom then at peace, that Edward, although far away from England, was at once proclaimed King, and oaths of fealty were taken to him in his absence.

Edward takes the Cross.

Death of Henry III.

[Kublai Khan (1259-1294) builds and makes Pekin his capital; subdues Southern China in 1279; becomes Great Khan of China, and adopts Chinese manners and customs. The Mamelukes make head against the Mongols; occupy Damascus and Aleppo (1260), attack the Christians and take Antioch (1268). St. Louis heads the Eighth (and last) Crusade (1270); he dies of plague before Tunis. Edward I. proceeds to Palestine; raises the siege of Acre, advances to Nazareth and exacts a ten years' truce. The Mamelukes capture Acre in 1291, and end the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.]

THE SICILIAN VESPERS

(A.D. 1282)

JULES MICHELET

ALL powerful as he was, the son of St. Louis was not the true head of the house of France; its head was the sainted King's brother, Charles of Anjou. Charles had used and abused his unexampled good fortune. Youngest son of the house of France, he had become Count of Provence, King of Naples, of Sicily, and of Jerusalem, and more than king—master and ruler of popes. To him might have been applied what was said to the famous Ugolin: "What is there wanting to me?" asked the tyrant of Pisa. "Nothing but the anger of God!"

Power of Charles of Anjou.

For three years nearly, he reigned almost Pope in Italy, as he would not allow of the nomination of a Pope on the demise of Clement IV. This pontiff had found that for twenty thousand pieces of gold which the Frenchman promised to pay him yearly, he had delivered into his hands not only the Two Sicilies, but all Italy. Charles got himself named by him Senator of Rome and Imperial

Vicar in Tuscany. He was accepted as suzerain by Placenza, Cremona, Parma, Modena, Ferrara, Reggio, and, subsequently, even by Milan, as well as by many cities of Piedmont and of Romagna. All Tuscany had chosen him peace-maker. "Kill every man of them," was the reply of this peace-maker to the Guelphs of Florence, when they asked him what they should do with their Ghibelline prisoners.

His importance in Italy.

Conspiracy abroad, conspiracy at home: the Italians reckon themselves masters of the art. They have always conspired, but rarely succeeded; yet enterprises of the kind have had to this artistic people the captivation of a work of art, of a drama unalloyed by fiction, of a real tragedy in which they desiderated all the effects of the drama, requiring numerous spectators and some solemn occasion, as that of a great festival, for instance; their theatre would often be a temple; the hour, that of the elevation of the host.*

Italians adepts in conspiracy.

The conspiracy of which we are about to speak was of a far different character from those of the Pazzi or of the Olgiati. The work in hand was not a dagger's blow—the killing a man at the sacrifice of your own life, and which after all leads to nothing—but the rousing of Sicily and of the world; con-

* The moment chosen by the Pazzi for the assassination of the Medicis and by the Olgiati to put to death John Galeas Sforza.

spiring, negotiating, encouraging conspiracy by insurrection, and insurrection by conspiracy; the raising up of a whole people, and yet holding them in; the organizing of war, yet simulating peace. This design, so difficult of accomplishment, was of all others the most just,—for it was undertaken to expel the foreigner. Conspiracy in Sicily.

The strong head which conceived this great thing, and which accomplished it—a head coldly ardent, hardly obstinate and astute, such as are found in the South—was Calabrian. He was a physician, one of the barons of the court of Frederick II., lord of the island of Prochyta; and, as their physician, he had been the friend and confidant both of Frederick and of Manfred. To please these freethinkers of the Thirteenth Century, it behooved to be a physician, either Arab or Jew; and admission was gained into their houses rather through the channel of the school of Salerno than of the Church. Probably this school taught its adepts something more than the innocent prescriptions which it has left us in its Leonine verses. John of Procida.

After the downfall of Manfred, Procida took refuge in Spain. Procida goes to Spain.

It was to the young King, Don Pedro, that the faithful servant of the house of Swabia first betook himself; to the daughter of his master, the Queen Constanza. The Aragonese received him kindly, gave him lands and

lordships, but listened coldly to his suggestions of war with the house of France; the forces were too disproportionate. The hatred of Christendom against this house had first to be aggravated; and he preferred refusing, and waiting. So he allowed the adventurer to pursue his plans, without compromising himself. To take all suspicion from him, Procida sold his Spanish estates and disappeared. None knew what had become of him.

Procida seeks the enemies of Charles of Anjou.

He left secretly, attired as a Franciscan: so humble a disguise was also the safest. The Mendicants strayed everywhere; begged, lived on little, and were everywhere well received. Subtle, eloquent and able men, they discharged a multiplicity of worldly commissions with discretion. Europe was filled with their activity. Messengers, preachers, and at times diplomatists, they were then what the post and press now are. Procida, then, assumed the dirty gown of the Mendicants, and went humbly and barefoot to seek throughout the world enemies to Charles of Anjou.

He visits Sicily and Constantinople.

Enemies were not wanting. The difficulty was to bring them to an understanding, to bring them to act simultaneously and contemporaneously. At first he repairs to Sicily, to the very volcano of the revolution; sees, listens, and observes. The signs of approaching eruption were visible—concentrated rage, a stifled sound of effervescence, murmurs and

silence. Charles was exhausting his unhappy people in order to subject another; and the isle was full of preparations and menaces against the Greeks. Procida passes on to Constantinople, warns Paleologus, and gives him exact information of his enemy's movements. Charles had already despatched three thousand men to Durazzo, and was about to follow with a hundred galleys and five hundred transports. His success was assured; for Venice did not hesitate to embark in the enterprise, and contributed forty galleys and her Doge, who was still a Dandolo. The Fourth Crusade was about to be repeated; and Paleologus, in despair, knew not what to do. "What to do? Give me money. I will find you a defender, who has no money, but who has arms."

Procida has a secret interview with the Pope.

Procida returned to Sicily with one of Paleologus's secretaries, introduced him to the Sicilian barons, and then to the Pope, with whom he had a secret interview in the castle of Soriano. The Greek Emperor desired, above all, the signature of the Pope, to whom he had been but recently reconciled; but Nicholas hesitated to embark in so vast an undertaking. Procida gave him money. According to other accounts, he had only to remind the pontiff, who was a Roman and an Orsini, of a saying of Charles of Anjou's. When a Pope proposed a marriage between his niece Orsini and Charles of Anjou's son,

Charles had said: "Does he fancy because he wears red stockings that the blood of his Orsini can mingle with the blood of France?"

Nicholas signed the treaty, but died shortly after. The whole work seemed broken up and destroyed. Charles became more powerful than ever. He succeeded in having a Pope of his own. He drove from the conclave the Ghibelline cardinals, and compelled the nomination of a Frenchman, an old monk of Tours, a servile and trembling creature of his house. This was to make himself Pope. He became once more Senator of Rome, and placed garrisons in all the holds of the Church. This time the Pope could not escape him. He kept him with him at Viterbo, and would not let him out of his sight. When the unhappy Sicilians came to implore the Pope's mediation with their King, they saw their enemy by their judge, the King sitting by the side of the Pope. The only answer the deputies received was to be thrown into a dungeon—yet were they a bishop and a monk.

Charles's power increases.

Charles's friendship with the Pope.

Sicily had no pity to expect from Charles of Anjou. Half Arab, it held out obstinately for the friends of the Arabs, for Manfred and his house. All the insults with which the conquerors could load the Sicilian people seemed to them but so many reprisals. The petulance of the Provençals, and their brutal joviality, are well known; but had national antipathies and the insolence of conquest been

the only subjects of complaint, there might have been hopes of the evils mitigating. What, however, threatened to increase and to weigh each day more heavily, was a first and unskilful attempt at taxation—the invasion of treasury agents and of finance in the world of the Odyssey and the Eneid. This nation of husbandmen and of shepherds had, under every change of master, preserved something of its ancient independence. Till now, they had found solitude in the mountain and liberty in the desert. But now, the tax-gatherer explored the whole island. Inquisitive traveller! he measures the valley, scales the rock, values the inaccessible peak. He rears his office under the mountain chestnut, or hunts out and registers the goat wandering on the ledges of the rocks, in the midst of lava and of snow.

Tyranny of taxation.

It was Monday, the 30th of March, 1282, Easter Monday. In Sicily, it is already summer—just as it would be with us on St. John's Day, when the heat has begun to be intense, and the ground, moist and warm, is lost beneath the grass, and the grass beneath the flowers. Easter is a voluptuous moment in these countries. With the closing of Lent, abstinence disappears, and sensuality awakens, fierce and ardent, and sharpened by devotion —God has had his share, the senses claim theirs. The change is a sudden one: every flower starts at once from the ground, every

Spring in Sicily.

beauty is in fulness of bloom. It is a triumphant outburst of life, sensuality's revenge, an insurrection of nature.

This day, then, this Easter Monday, all, both men and women, went up the beautiful hill, according to custom, from Palermo to Monreale, to hear vespers. The foreigners were there to trouble the festival: so great an assemblage of people was not without giving them uneasiness. The viceroy had forbidden the wearing of arms, or exercising with them, as was the custom on that day. Perhaps he had noticed the concourse of nobles, for Procida had had the address to assemble them at Palermo. The opportunity, however, was wanting; and it was presented by a Frenchman beyond Procida's hopes. This man, named Drouet, stopped a beautiful girl, of noble birth, whom her bridegroom and the whole family were conducting to the church. Having searched the bridegroom and found no arms, he pretended to think the maiden had them about her, and passed his hand under her gown. She faints. The Frenchman is at once disarmed, and slain with his own sword. A cry is raised, "Death, death to the French!" In all directions they are cut down. Their houses, it is said, had been marked with a distinguishing mark beforehand. Whoever could not pronounce the Italian *c* or *ch* (*ceci, ciceri*) was immediately put to death.

Uneasiness of the oppressors.

[In 1284, Genoa extinguishes the sea-power of Pisa at Maloria. In 1292, the Mongols drive the last Sultan of Iconium from his throne. He dies at Constantinople in 1308. In 1283, Edward subdues Wales; and from 1297 to 1303 Wallace unsuccessfully struggles for the freedom of Scotland. In 1299, Othman presses through the passes of Olympus, invades Nicomedia, and founds the Ottoman Empire.] A.D. 1284-1299.

MARCO POLO'S TRAVELS

(A.D. 1291)

HENRY YULE

Claims to nobility.

TILL quite recently it had never been precisely ascertained whether the immediate family of our Traveller belonged to the *Nobles* of Venice, properly so-called, who had seats in the Grand Council, and were enrolled in the Libro d'Oro. Ramusio,* indeed, styles our Marco *Nobile* and *Magnifico,* and Rusticiano, the actual scribe of the Traveller's recollections, calls him *"sajes et noble citaiens de Venece,"* but Ramusio's accuracy and Rusticiano's precision are scarcely to be depended on. Very recently, however, since the subject has been discussed with accomplished students of the Venice archives, proofs have been found establishing Marco's personal claim to nobility, inasmuch as both in judicial decisions and in official resolutions of the Great Council, he is designated *Nobilis Vir,* a formula which would never have been used in such documents (I am assured) had he not been technically noble.

Of the three sons of Andrea Polo of S.

* Marco Polo's earliest biographer.

Felice, Marco seems to have been the eldest, and Maffeo the youngest. They were all engaged in commerce, and apparently in a partnership, which to some extent held good even when the two younger had been many years absent in the Far East. Marco seems to have been established for a time at Constantinople, and also to have had a house (no doubt of business) at Soldaia in the Crimea, where his son and daughter, Nicolo and Maroca by name, were living in 1280.

Marco the Elder.

Nicolo Polo, the second of the brothers, had two legitimate sons, Marco, born in 1254, and Maffeo. The story opens in 1260, when we find the two brothers, Nicolo and Maffeo the Elder, at Constantinople. How long they had been absent from Venice we are not distinctly told. Nicolo had left his wife there behind him; Maffeo apparently was a bachelor. In the year named they started on a trading venture to the Crimea, whence a succession of openings and chances, recounted in the introductory chapters of Marco's work, carried them far north along the Volga, and thence first to Bokhara and then to the Court of the Great Khan Kublai in the Far East, on or within the borders of Cathay. That a great and civilized country, so called, existed in the extremity of Asia had already been reported in Europe by the Friar Plano Carpini (1246) and William de Rubruquis (1253), who had not indeed

Nicolo and Maffeo commence their travels

reached its frontiers, but had met with its people at the Court of the Great Khan in Mongolia; while the latter of the two, with characteristic acumen, had seen that they were identical with the Seres of classic fame.

Kublai had never before fallen in with European gentlemen. He was delighted with these Venetians, listened with strong interest to all that they had to tell him of the Latin World, and determined to send them back as his ambassadors to the Pope, accompanied by an officer of his own court. His letters to the Pope, as the Polos represent them, were mainly to desire the despatch of a large body of educated missionaries to convert his people to Christianity. It is not likely that religious motives influenced Kublai in this, but he probably desired religious aid in softening and civilizing his rude kinsmen of the Steppes, and judged, from what he saw in the Venetians and heard from them, that Europe could afford such aid of a higher quality than the degenerate Oriental Christians with whom he was familiar, or the Tibetan Lamas on whom his patronage eventually devolved when Rome so deplorably failed to meet his advances.

Their intercourse with Kublai Khan.

The brothers arrived at Acre in April, 1269, and found that no Pope existed, for Clement IV. was dead the year before, and no new election had taken place. So they went home to Venice to see how things stood there after their absence of so many years. The wife of Ni-

The Polos return home.

colo was no longer among the living, but he found his son Marco a fine lad of fifteen.

The Papal interregnum was the longest known, at least since the Dark Ages. Those two years passed, and yet the cardinals at Viterbo had come to no agreement. The brothers were unwilling to let the Great Khan think them faithless, and perhaps they hankered after the virgin field of speculation that they had discovered; so they started again for the East, taking young Mark with them. If there be no mistake in the time (three years and a half), ascribed to this journey in all the existing texts, the travellers did not reach the court till about May of 1275. Second journey of the Polos.

Kublai received the Venetians with great cordiality, and took kindly to young Mark, who must have been by this time one and twenty. The *Joenne Bacheler,* as the story calls him, applied himself to the acquisition of the languages and written characters in chief use among the multifarious nationalities included in the Khan's court and administration; and Kublai after a time, seeing his discretion and ability, began to employ him in the public service. M. Pauthier has found a record in the Chinese Annals of the Mongol Dynasty, which states that, in the year 1277, a certain Polo was nominated a second-class commissioner or agent attached to the Privy Council, a passage which we are happy to believe refers to our young traveller. Marco's employment by Kublai Khan.

His first mission apparently was that which carried him through the provinces of Shansi, Shensi, and Szechwan, and the wild country on the east of Tibet, to the remote province of Yunnan, called by the Mongols Karájáng, and which had been partially conquered by an army under Kublai himself in 1253 before his accession to the throne. Mark, during his stay at court, had observed the Khan's delight in hearing of strange countries, their marvels, manners, and oddities, and had heard his Majesty's frank expressions of disgust at the stupidity of his commissioners when they could speak of nothing but the official business on which they had been sent. Profiting by these observations, he took care to store his memory or his note-books with all curious facts that were likely to interest Kublai, and related them with vivacity on his return to court. This first journey,—which led him through a region which is still very nearly a *terra incognita,* and in which there existed, and still exists, among the deep valleys of the Great Rivers flowing down from Eastern Tibet, and in the rugged mountain ranges bordering Yunnan and Kweichau, a vast Ethnological Garden, as it were, of tribes of various race and in every stage of uncivilization,—afforded him an acquaintance with many strange products and eccentric traits of manners wherewith to delight the Emperor. Mark rose rapidly in favor and often served Kublai again on dis-

He takes notes of all he sees.

He rises rapidly in favor.

tant missions, as well as in domestic administration.

That Marco Polo has been so universally recognized as the King of Medieval Travellers is due rather to the width of his experience, the vast compass of his journeys, and the romantic nature of his personal history, than to transcendent superiority of character or capacity.

The generation immediately preceding his own has bequeathed to us, in the Report of the Franciscan Friar, William de Rubruquis, on the mission with which St. Louis charged him to the Tartar courts, the narrative of one great journey, which, in its rich detail, its vivid pictures, its acuteness of observation and strong good sense, seems to me to form a Book of Travels of much higher claims than *any one series* of Polo's chapters; a book, indeed, which has never had justice done to it, for it has few superiors in the whole Library of Travel.

Enthusiastic biographers, beginning with Ramusio, have placed Polo on the same platform with Columbus. But where has our Venetian Traveller left behind him any trace of the genius and lofty enthusiasm, the ardent and justified previsions which mark the great Admiral as one of the lights of the human race? It is a juster praise that the spur which his Book eventually gave to geographical studies, and the beacons which it hung out at

The real merit of the work.

the Eastern extremities of the earth, helped to guide the aims, though scarcely to kindle the fire, of the greater son of the rival Republic. His work was at least a link in the Providential chain which at last dragged the New World to light.*

The Asiatic realms he described.

Surely Marco's real, indisputable, and, in their kind, unique claims to glory may suffice. He was the first traveller to trace a route across the whole longitude of Asia, naming and describing kingdom after kingdom which he had seen with his own eyes; the Deserts of Persia, the flowering plateaus and wild gorges of Badakhstan, the jade-bearing rivers of Khotan, the Mongolian steppes, cradle of the power that had so lately threatened to swallow up Christendom, the new and brilliant court that had been established at Cambaluc; the first traveller to reveal China in all its wealth and vastness, its mighty rivers, its huge cities, its rich manufactures, its swarming population, the inconceivably vast fleets that quickened its seas and its inland waters; to tell us of the nations on its borders with all their eccentricities of manner and worship; of Tibet with its sor-

* M. Libri, however, speaks too strongly when he says: "The finest of all the results due to the influence of Marco Polo is that of having stirred Columbus to the discovery of the New World. Columbus, jealous of Polo's laurels, spent his life in preparing means to get to that Zipangu of which the Venetian traveller had told such great things; his desire was to reach China by sailing westward, and in his way he fell in with America." (*H. des Sciences Mathém.*, II. 150.)

did devotees; of Burma with its golden pagodas and their tinkling crowns; of Laos, of Siam, of Cochin China, of Japan, the Eastern Thule, with its rosy pearls and golden-roofed palaces; the first to speak of that Museum of Beauty and Wonder, still so imperfectly ransacked, the Indian Archipelago, source of those aromatics then so highly prized, and whose origin was so dark; of Java, the Pearl of Islands; of Sumatra with its many kings, its strange, costly products, and its cannibal races; of the naked savages of Nicobar and Andaman; of Ceylon, the Isle of Gems, with its Sacred Mountain and its Tomb of Adam; of India the Great, not as a dreamland of Alexandrian fables, but as a country seen and partially explored, with its virtuous Brahmans, its obscene ascetics, its diamonds and the strange tales of their acquisition, its sea-beds of pearl, and its powerful sun; the first in medieval times to give any distinct account of the secluded Christian Empire of Abyssinia, and the semi-Christian Island of Socotra; to speak, though indeed dimly, of Zanzibar with its negroes and its ivory, and of the vast and distinct Madagascar, bordering on the Dark Ocean of the South, with its Ruc and other monstrosities; and, in a remotely opposite region, of Siberia and the Arctic Ocean, of dog-sledges, white bears, and reindeer-riding Tunguses.

Africa also is touched upon.

That all this rich catalogue of discoveries

Ample ground for Polo's fame.

should belong to the revelations of one Man and one Book is surely ample ground enough to account for and to justify the Author's high place on the roll of Fame, and there can be no need to exaggerate his greatness, or to invest him with imaginary attributes.

[The first convocation of the States-General of France met in 1303. The seat of the Papacy is transferred to Avignon, 1305; the Great Papal Schism lasted till 1376. In 1310, Venice sees the conspiracy of Tiepolo and the creation of the Council of Ten.]

THE SWISS CONFEDERACY: THE SWISS WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

(A.D. 1307)

SUTHERLAND MENZIES

SWITZERLAND originally formed a part of the kingdom of Arles or Burgundy, and was united, later on, to the rest of the dominions of Rodolph. It contained a numerous and powerful nobility, and several rich ecclesiastical lords. Its towns of Zurich, Bâsle, Berne, and Friburg rose into importance. Among the nobles the Counts of Hapsburg gradually became the most powerful; they were advocates to several convents, some of which had estates in the forest-cantons of Schwyz and Unterwalden. The people of these cantons reposed confidence in Rodolph, the first Emperor of the House of Hapsburg; but they distrusted his son, the cold and heartless Albert, who justified their suspicions; for, not satisfied with the rights which, as advocate of the convents, he possessed over a part of the forest-cantons, he, wishing to annex them to the dukedom of Austria, sent imperial bailiffs to administer justice in the whole of

The Counts of Hapsburg.

these cantons. The people were indignant at this attempt to reduce them to servitude. Three men, Stauffacher of Schwyz, Furst of Uri, Melchthal of Unterwalden, each with ten companions, met by night in a secret valley, and swore to assert the liberty of their country. It was, therefore, the encroachments of *ducal,* not imperial, tyranny that drove these brave mountaineers to vindicate their independence with the sword. The encroachment which the confederates of Gruttli pledged themselves to withstand was the attempt to degrade their land from being a free fief of the empire into becoming a part of the hereditary possessions of the House of Austria.

William Tell.

William Tell, a brave and honest peasant, was the popular hero of this band of liberators, who, driven at length into open rebellion by a series of insults offered to them by Gessler, the Austrian bailiff of Uri, made a successful stand against the tyrannical Duke Albert. Several circumstances of his life, even his existence, have been doubted; but it seems clearly proved that he really shared in the struggles and deliverance of his country. Born at Burghen, in the canton of Uri, he married the daughter of Walter Furst of Altinghausen, who had taken the oath (7th Sept. 1307) at the Gruttli with Arnold de Melchthal and Werner de Stauffacher. Gessler had caused to be fixed upon a pole in the marketplace of Altorf a hat (the ducal hat according

Gessler's tyranny.

to John de Muller), commanding the Swiss to bow their heads while passing it. Tell indignantly refused to obey that humiliating order. The tyrant, furious at the audacity of the recusant, compelled him, under pain of death, to shoot an arrow, at a distance of one hundred and twenty paces, through an apple placed upon the head of the youngest of his boys (18th Nov. 1307). Tell shot so true that he pierced the apple without harming his son. Gessler then perceiving a second arrow hidden beneath his belt, asked him what it was for. Tell would have excused himself by saying that it was the common custom of archers; but Gessler, seeing him confused, pressed him to disclose the real reason, promising that, whatever he might say, his life should be safe. "Well, then," replied William Tell, "I will speak the truth. If I had slain my son, the second arrow should have pierced thy heart." "I promised thee thy life," replied Gessler; "but since thou art thus evil disposed toward me, I will send thee to a place where thou shalt never see sun or moon more." Gessler then caused him to be loaded with chains, and thrown into a boat; and, fearing lest he should be rescued by his companions, he determined to conduct him himself to the strong fortress of Kussnacht. They embarked upon the lake of the Four Cantons; and scarcely were they in front of the Gruttli than the *·cher,* an impetuous wind from the south

Tell's bold defiance.

which often blows in these regions, raised a violent storm, which rendered the small skiff unmanageable. Tell was known to be a skilful boatman, and he averred that he could steer the skiff to a point where they could land safely. Gessler, terrified, consented to his chains being taken off, and trusted him with the helm. Tell directed the boat shoreward toward a rocky platform which still bears the name of Tell's Leap, situated on the Schwyz shore. There, snatching his bow, he sprang ashore from the skiff, thrusting it back with his foot, thereby leaving his enemy exposed to the fury of the waves. Gessler, however, escaped also, and continued his way by land toward Kussnacht. Tell waited for him by the roadside, until he had entered a hollow, woody pass, and, watching his opportunity, took a steady aim at the tyrant, and sent an arrow through his heart. After this exploit, Tell's life becomes obscure. We learn only that he fought in the battle of Morgarten (1315), and that he died at Bingen, receiver of the church of that city, in 1354. His death was another devoted act, for he perished in an attempt to save a child who had fallen into a torrent. The Governor of Uri decreed that, on the anniversary of his death, a sermon should be delivered at the spot where stood the house of Tell, "our beloved citizen, and restorer of our liberties, in eternal memory of Heaven's benefits, and the happy deeds of the

His escape and revenge.

His death.

hero." Thirty years later a chapel was built upon the site on which that house had stood.

[The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem are established at Rhodes (1310), which emerges into fame and opulence.] Knights of St. John.

SUPPRESSION OF THE TEMPLARS

(A.D. 1307—1313)

DAVID HUME

THE Order of Knights Templars had arisen during the first fervor of the Crusades; and uniting the two qualities, the most popular in that age, devotion and valor, and exercising both in the most popular of all enterprises, the defence of the Holy Land, they had made rapid advances in credit and authority, and had acquired, from the piety of the faithful, ample possessions in every country of Europe, especially in France. Their great riches, joined to the course of time, had, by degrees, relaxed the severity of these virtues; and the Templars had in a great measure lost that popularity which first raised them to honor and distinction. Acquainted from experience with the fatigues and dangers of those fruitless expeditions to the East, they rather chose to enjoy in ease their opulent revenues in Europe: and being all men of birth, educated, according to the custom of that age, without any tincture of letters, they scorned the ignoble occupations of a monastic life, and passed their time wholly in the fashionable

Their early piety.

amusements of hunting, gallantry, and the pleasures of the table. Their rival order, that of St. John of Jerusalem, whose poverty had as yet preserved them from like corruptions, still distinguished themselves by their enterprises against the infidels, and succeeded to all the popularity, which was lost by the indolence and luxury of the Templars. But though these reasons had weakened the foundations of this Order, once so celebrated and revered, the immediate cause of their destruction proceeded from the cruel and vindictive spirit of Philip the Fair, who, having entertained a private disgust against some eminent Templars, determined to gratify at once his avidity and revenge, by involving the whole Order in an undistinguished ruin. On no better information than that of two knights, condemned by their superiors to perpetual imprisonment for their vices and profligacy, he ordered on one day all the Templars in France to be committed to prison, and imputed to them such enormous and absurd crimes as are sufficient of themselves to destroy all the credit of the acquisition. Besides their being universally charged with murder, robbery, and vices the most shocking to nature; every one, it was pretended, whom they received into their order, was obliged to renounce his Saviour, to spit upon the cross, and to join to this impiety the superstition of worshipping a gilded head, which was secretly kept in one of their houses

Luxury of the Order.

Crimes charged against them.

at Marseilles. They also initiated, it was said, every candidate by such infamous rites, as could serve to no other purpose than to degrade the Order in his eyes, and destroy forever the authority of all his superiors over him. Above a hundred of these unhappy gentlemen were put to the question, in order to extort from them a confession of their guilt; the more obstinate perished in the hands of their tormentors: several, to procure immediate ease in the violence of their agonies, acknowledged whatever was required of them: forged confessions were imputed to others: and Philip, as if their guilt were now certain, proceeded to a confiscation of all their treasures. But no sooner were the Templars relieved from their tortures, than, preferring the most cruel execution to a life with infamy, they disavowed their confessions, exclaimed against the forgeries, justified the innocence of their Order, and appealed to all the gallant actions performed by them in ancient or later times, as a full apology for their conduct. The tyrant, enraged at this disappointment, and thinking himself now engaged in honor to proceed to extremities, ordered fifty-four of them, whom he branded as relapsed heretics, to perish by the punishment of fire in his capital: great numbers expired after a like manner in other parts of the kingdom: and when he found that the perseverance of these unhappy victims, in justifying to the last their

Crimes confessed under torture.

Fifty-four are burned.

innocence, had made deep impression on the spectators, he endeavored to overcome the constancy of the Templars by new inhumanities. The grand master of the Order, John de Molay, and another great officer, brother to the sovereign of Dauphiny, were conducted to a scaffold, erected before the church of Notre Dame, at Paris: a full pardon was offered them on the one hand; the fire, destined for their execution, was shown them on the other: these gallant nobles still persisted in the protestations of their own innocence and that of their Order; and were instantly hurried into the flames by the executioner.

Execution of the grand master.

In all this barbarous injustice Clement V., who was the creature of Philip, and then resided in France, fully concurred; and without examining a witness, or making any inquiry into the truth of facts, he summarily, by the plenitude of his apostolic power, abolished the whole Order. The Templars all over Europe were thrown into prison; their conduct underwent a strict scrutiny; the power of their enemies still pursued and oppressed them; but nowhere, except in France, were the smallest traces of their guilt pretended to be found. England sent an ample testimony of their piety and morals; but as the Order was now annihilated, the knights were distributed into several convents, and their possessions were, by command of the Pope, transferred to the Order of St. John.

Connivance of Clement V.

BANNOCKBURN

(A.D. 1314)

ANDREW LANG

BANNOCKBURN, like the Relief of Orleans, or Marathon, was one of the decisive battles of the world. History hinged upon it. If England won, Scotland might have dwindled into the condition of Ireland,—for Edward II. was not likely to aim at a statesmanlike policy of union, in his father's manner. Could Scotland have accepted union at the first Edward's hands; could he have refrained from his mistreatment (as we must think it) of Balliol, the fortunes of the isle of Britain might have been happier. But had Scotland been trodden down at Bannockburn, the fortunes of the isle might well have been worse.

Importance of the victory.

The singular and certain fact is, that Bannockburn was fought on a point of chivalry, on a rule in a game. England must "touch bar," relieve Stirling, as in some child's pastime. To the securing of the castle, the central gate of Scotland, north and south, England put forth her whole strength. Bruce had no choice but to concentrate all the power

Stirling the central gate of Scotland.

of a now, at last, united realm, and to stand just where he did stand. His enemies knew his purpose: by May 27, writs informed England that the Scots were gathering on heights and morasses inaccessible to cavalry. If ever Edward showed energy, it was in preparing for the appointed Midsummer Day of 1314. The "Rotuli Scotiæ" contain several pages of his demands for men, horses, wines, hay, grain, provisions, and ships. Endless letters were sent to master mariners and magistrates of towns. The King appealed to his beloved Irish chiefs, O'Donnells, O'Flyns, O'Hanlens, MacMahons, M'Carthys, Kellys, O'Reillys, and O'Briens, and to *Hiberniae Magnates, Anglico genere ortos,* Butlers, Blounts, De Lacys, Powers, and Russells. John of Argyll was made admiral of the western fleet, and was asked to conciliate the Islesmen, who, under Angus Og, were rallying to Bruce. The numbers of men engaged on either side in this war can not be ascertained. Each kingdom had a year wherein to muster and arm.

Mustering for the struggle.

> "Then all that worthy were to fight
> Of Scotland, set all hale their might;"

while Barbour makes Edward assemble, not only

> "His own chivalry
> That was so great it was ferly,"

but also knights of France and Hainault, Bretagne and Gascony, Wales, Ireland, and

The English army.

Aquitaine. The whole English force is said to have exceeded 100,000, 40,000 of whom were cavalry, including 3,000 horses "barded from counter to tail," armed against stroke of sword or point of spear. The baggage-train was endless, bearing tents, harness, and "apparel of chamber and hall," wine, wax, and all the luxuries of Edward's manner of campaigning, including *animalia*, perhaps lions. Thus the English advanced from Berwick—

> "Banners right fairly flaming
> And pensels to the wind waving."

Bruce summons Scotland.

On June 23, Bruce heard that the English host had streamed out of Edinburgh, where the dismantled castle was no safe hold, and were advancing on Falkirk. Bruce had summoned Scotland to tryst in the Torwood, whence he could retreat at pleasure, if, after all, retreat he must. The Fiery Cross, red with the blood of a sacrificed goat, must have flown through the whole of the Celtic land. Lanarkshire, Douglasdale, and Ettrick Forest were mustered under the banner of Douglas, the mullets not yet enriched with the royal heart. The men of Moray followed their new earl, Randolph, the adventurous knight who scaled the rock of the Castle of the Maidens. Renfrewshire, Bute, and Ayr were under the fesse chequy of young Walter Stewart. Bruce had gathered his own Car-

rick men, and Angus Og led the wild levies of the Isles. Of stout spearmen, and fleet-footed clansmen, Bruce had abundance; but what were his archers to the archers of England, or his five hundred horse under Keith, the Marischal, to the rival knights of England, Hainault, Guienne, and Almayne?

Ability of the Scottish leaders.

Battles, however, are won by heads, as well as by hearts and hands. The victor of Glen Trool and Cruachan and Loudon Hill knew every move in the game, while Randolph and Douglas were experts in making one man do the work of five. Bruce, too, had choice of ground, and the ground suited him well.

To reach Stirling the English must advance by their left, along the so-called Roman way, through the village of St. Ninian's, or by the right, through the Carse, partly inclosed, and much broken, in drainless days, by reedy lochans. Bruce did not make his final dispositions till he learned that the English meant to march by the former route. He then chose ground where his front was defended, first by the little burn of Bannock, which at one point winds through a cleugh with steep banks, and next by two morasses, Halbert's bog and Milton bog. What is now arable ground may have been a loch in old days, and these two marshes were then impassable by a column of attack. Between Charter's Hall (where Edward had his headquarters) and Park's Mill was a marge of firm soil, along

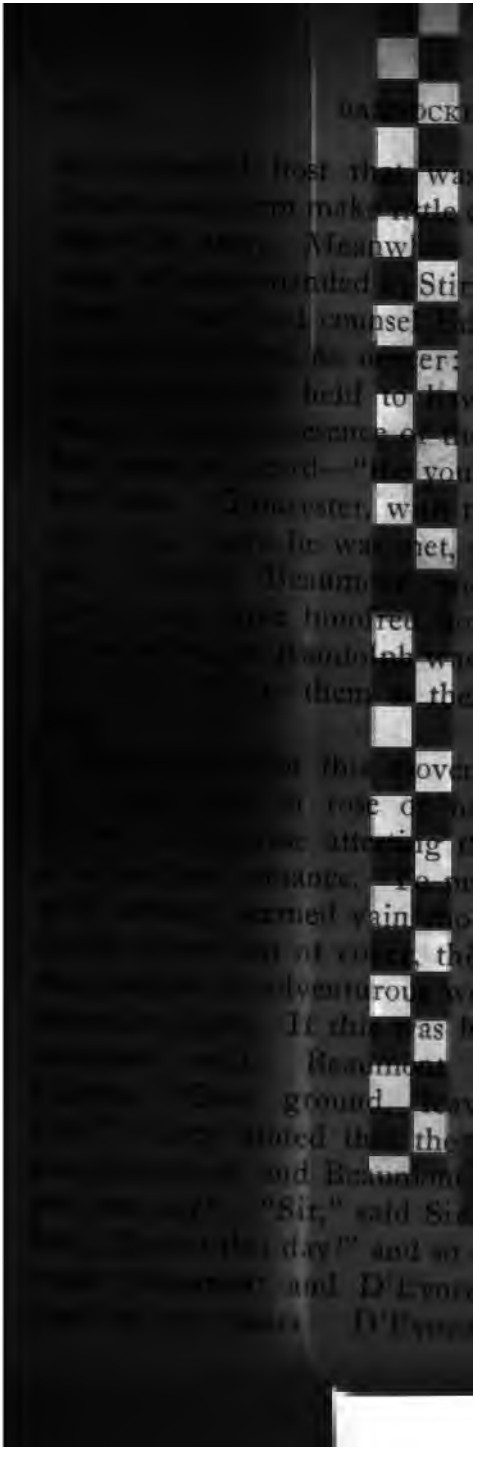
which a column could pass, in scrubby country, and between the bogs was a sort of bridge of dry land. By these two avenues the English might assail the Scottish lines. These approaches Bruce is said to have rendered difficult by pitfalls, and even by calthrops to maim the horses. It is whispered that calthrops for tourists are occasionally manufactured by modern local enterprise. He determined to fight on foot, the wooded country being difficult for horsemen, and the foe being infinitely superior in cavalry. His army was arranged in four "battles," with Randolph to lead the vaward, and watch against any attempt to throw cavalry into Stirling. Edward Bruce commanded the division on the right, next the Torwood. Walter Stewart, a lad, with Douglas, led the third division. Bruce himself and Angus Og, with the men of Carrick and the Celts, were in the rear. Bruce had no mind to take the offensive, and, as at the Battle of the Standard, to open the fight with a charge of impetuous mountaineers. On Sunday morning mass was said, and men shrived them.

Bruce's preparations.

Bruce does not wish to attack.

"They thought to die in the *melée*,
Or else to set their country free."

They ate but bread and water, for it was the vigil of St. John. News came that the English had moved out of Falkirk, and Douglas and the Steward brought tidings of the great



ford, rode Sir Henry Bohun, a bow-shot beyond his company. Recognizing the King, who was arraying his ranks, Bohun sped down upon him, apparently hoping to take him—

> "He thought that he should well lightly
> Win him, and have him at his will."

But Bruce, in this fatal moment, when history hung on his hand and eye, uprose in his stirrups and clove Bohun's helmet, the axe breaking in that stroke. It was a desperate but a winning blow: Bruce's spears advanced, and the English van withdrew in half superstitious fear of the omen. His lords blamed Bruce, but

Bruce kills Sir Henry Bohun.

> "*The King has answer made them none,*
> But turned about the axe-shaft, wha
> Was with the stroke broken in twa."

Initium malorum hoc ("this was the beginning of evil"), says the English chronicler.

After this double success in the Quatre Bras of the Scottish Waterloo, Bruce, according to Barbour, offered to his men their choice of withdrawal or of standing it out. The great general might well be of doubtful mind—was to-morrow to bring a second and more fatal Falkirk? The army of Scotland was protected, as Wallace's army at Falkirk had been, by difficult ground. But the English archers might again rain their blinding showers of shafts into the broad mark offered

Bruce's hesitation.

by the clumps of spears, and again the English knights might break through the shaken ranks. Bruce had but a few squadrons of horse—could they be trusted to scatter the bowmen of the English forests, and to escape a flank charge from the far heavier cavalry of Edward? On the whole, was not the old strategy best, the strategy of retreat? So Bruce may have pondered. He had brought his men to the ring, and they voted for dancing. Meanwhile the English rested on a marshy plain "outre Bannockburn" in sore discomfiture, says Grey. He must mean *south* of Bannockburn, taking the point of view of his father, at that hour a captive in Bruce's camp. He tells us that the Scots meant to retire "into the Lennox, a right strong country" (this confirms, in a way, Barbour's tale of Bruce suggesting retreat), when Sir Alexander Seton, deserting Edward's camp, advised Bruce of the English lack of spirit, and bade him face the foe next day. To retire, indeed, was Bruce's, as it had been Wallace's, natural policy. The English would soon be distressed for want of supplies; on the other hand, they had clearly made no arrangements for an orderly retreat, if they lost the day: with Bruce this was a motive for fighting them. The advice of Seton prevailed: the Scots would stand their ground.

The Scots determine to stand their ground.

The sun of Midsummer Day rose on the rite of the mass done in front of the Scottish lines.

Men breakfasted, and Bruce knighted Douglas, the Steward, and others of his nobles. The host then moved out of the wood, and the standards rose above the spears of the schiltrons. Edward Bruce held the right wing; Randolph the centre; the left, under Douglas and the Steward, rested on St. Ninian's. Bruce, as he had arranged, was in reserve with Carrick and the Isles. "Will these men fight?" asked Edward, and Sir Ingram replied that such was their intent. He advised that the English should make a feigned retreat, when the Scots would certainly break their ranks—

The Scottish host advances.

"Then prick we on them hardily."

Edward rejected this old ruse, which probably would not have beguiled the Scottish leader. The Scots then knelt for a moment of prayer, as the Abbot of Inchafray bore the crucifix along the line; but they did not kneel to Edward. His van, under Gloucester, fell on Edward Bruce's division, where there was hand-to-hand fighting, broken lances, dying chargers, the rear ranks of Gloucester pressing vainly on the front ranks, unable to deploy for the straitness of the ground. Meanwhile, Randolph's men moved forward slowly, with extended spears, "as they were plunged in the sea" of charging knights. Douglas and the Steward were also engaged, and the "hideous shower" of arrows were ever raining from the bows of England. This must have been the

The great fight.

crisis of the fight, according to Barbour, and Bruce bade Keith with his five hundred horse charge the English archers on the flank. The bowmen do not seem to have been defended by pikes; they fell beneath the lances of the Marischal, as the archers of Ettrick had fallen at Falkirk. The Scottish archers now took heart, and loosed into the crowded and reeling ranks of England, while the flying bowmen of the South clashed against and confused the English charge. Then Scottish archers took to their steel sperthes (who ever loved to come to hand strokes), and hewed into the mass of the English, so that the field, whither Bruce brought up his reserves to support Edward Bruce on the right, was a mass of wild confused fighting. In this mellay the great body of the English army could do no stroke, swaying helplessly as Southern knights or Northern spears won some feet of ground. So, in the space between Halbert's Bog and the burn, the mellay rang and wavered, the long spears of the Scottish ranks unbroken, and pushing forward, the ground before them so covered with fallen men and horses that the English advance was clogged and crushed between the resistance in front and the pressure behind.

Slaughter of the English archers.

"God will have a stroke in every fight," says the romance of Malory. While discipline was lost, and England was trusting to sheer weight and "who will pound longest," a fresh

that folk might pass dry-shod over it. The country-people fell on and slew. If Bruce had possessed more cavalry, not an Englishman would have reached the Tweed. Edward, as Argentine bade him, rode to Stirling, but Mowbray told him that there he would be but a captive king. He spurred South, with five hundred horse, Douglas following with sixty, so close that no Englishman might alight but was slain or taken. Laurence de Abernethy, with eighty horse, was riding to join the English, but turned, and, with Douglas, pursued them. Edward reached Dunbar, whence he took boat for Berwick. In his terror he vowed to build a college of Carmelites, students in theology. It is Oriel College to-day, with a Scot for Provost. Among those who fell on the English side were the son of the Red Comyn, Gloucester, Clifford, Harcourt, Courtenay, and seven hundred other gentlemen of coat-armor were slain. Hereford (later), with Angus, Umfraville, and Sir Thomas Grey were among the prisoners. Stirling, of course, surrendered.

The pursuit.

English slain.

The sun of Midsummer Day set on men wounded and weary, but victorious and free. The task of Wallace was accomplished. To many of the combatants not the least agreeable result of Bannockburn was the unprecedented abundance of booty. When campaigning, Edward denied himself nothing. His wardrobe and arms; his enormous and,

apparently, well-supplied array of food-wagons; his ecclesiastical vestments for the celebration of victory; his plate; his siege-artillery; his military chests, with all the jewelry of his young minion knights, fell into the hands of the Scots. Down to Queen Mary's reign we read, in inventories, about costly vestments "from the fight at Bannockburn." In Scotland it rained ransoms. The "Rotuli Scotiæ," in 1314 full of Edward's preparation for war, in 1315 are rich in safe-conducts for men going into Scotland to redeem prisoners. One of these, the brave Sir Marmaduke Twenge, renowned at Stirling Bridge, hid in the woods on Midsummer's Night, and surrendered to Bruce next day. The King gave him gifts, and set him free unransomed. Indeed, the clemency of Bruce after his success is courteously acknowledged by the English chroniclers.

Magnificent booty.

This victory was due to Edward's incompetence, as well as to the excellent dispositions and indomitable courage of Bruce, and to "the intolerable axes" of his men. No measures had been taken by Edward to secure a retreat. Only one rally, at "the Bloody Fauld," is reported. The English fought wildly, their measures being laid on the strength of a confidence which, after the skirmishes of Sunday, June 23, they no longer entertained. They [illegible]ffered what, at Agincourt, Creçy, Poictiers, [illegible]erneuil, their descendants were to in-

Causes of the defeat.

flict. Horses and banners, gay armor and chivalric trappings, were set at naught by the sperthes and spears of infantry acting on favorable ground. From the dust and reek of that burning day of June, Scotland emerged a people, firm in a glorious memory. Out of weakness she was made strong, being strangely led through paths of little promise since the day when Bruce's dagger-stroke at Dumfries closed from him the path of returning.

Scotland a united people.

[In 1328, on the death of the last male issue of Philip the Fair, the Salic Law is enforced and the French crown passes to the house of Valois. Edward III. of England (1337) lays claim to the crown; and the Hundred Years' War begins.]

THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

(A.D. 1343–1669)

RICHARD LODGE

THE word "hansa," when we find it first in the Gothic Bible of Ulfila, signifies a military assemblage or troop. From this comes the general sense of union, and especially in the Middle Ages of union for mercantile purposes. A later but less important meaning is that of a tax paid by traders for the right of forming such a union. Definition of Hansa.

The Hansa, the league which ultimately overshadowed all rivals and usurped the name for itself, was no intentional creation, and we can fix no exact date for its origin. It arose gradually from two elements, the union of German merchants abroad, and the union of German towns at home.

The first impulse to mercantile union came from the dangers of travelling in the early Middle Ages. In those days mariners had neither chart nor compass to guide their course, and were forced to creep timidly along the shore and to avoid as much as possible the open sea. The merchant had also to dread

Dangers of medieval travel.

more positive dangers than those of storm and wreck. The coasts of northern Germany harbored numbers of rovers and pirates, who regarded the peaceful trader as their natural prey. To increase their powers of resistance, it was usual for merchants to undertake their voyages in more or less numerous companies. The union thus begun on sea was still further cemented on land. In those days law was personal and not territorial. The foreign merchant had no share in the law of the land where he sojourned; he brought with him his own law, and administered it as best he could. The legal customs of northern Germany were substantially alike; and this similarity strengthened the bonds of union among the merchants who found themselves for a time settled in a foreign land. Moreover, the state of trade frequently required a long stay, and sometimes a depositing of goods among strangers. This led in time to the acquisition of common possessions abroad, lodgings, storehouses, etc. This common *dépôt,* or "factory," became the central point of the union or Hansa formed by the merchants. The union soon received a corporative constitution. At its head stood the elders, whose chief functions were to administer justice and to represent the society in its relations to the natives of the country. It was by means of these orderly unions that the German merchants obtained their important privileges, chiefly advantages in trade and

Similarity of legal customs a bond of union.

taxes, from the people among whom they sojourned.

The most important German mercantile settlements were founded in Wisby, the capital of Gothland, London, Novgorod, Bergen, and Bruges. Wisby was the central point of the Baltic trade; the other towns represent the four extreme points of North-German commerce. Wisby differed from the other settlements in the fact that the Germans there were not merchants making a temporary visit, but were real settlers living side by side with the native population. Novgorod was a mere colony of the German settlement in Wisby, and never held an independent position. Bergen was comparatively unimportant, and the German "counter" in Bruges was not formed until some amount of union had been attained at home. But in the German colony in London the majority of the members were merely passing traders, who remained citizens of their native towns. It was, therefore, the London Hansa which exercised the greatest influence on the growth of the town league.

The important mercantile settlements

In the reign of Edgar we find the "people of the Emperor" occupying a prominent position in London trade, and joined in a lasting league. The members of this league came mostly from Cologne, the first German town which obtained great importance both at home and abroad. Its citizens possessed at an early date a guild-hall of their own, and all Ger-

Importance of Cologne.

mans who wished to trade with England had to join their guild. This soon included merchants from Dortmund, Soest, and Münster, in Westphalia; from Utrecht, Stavern, and Groningen, in the Netherlands; and from Premen and Hamburg on the North Sea. But when, at the beginning of the Thirteenth Century, the rapidly rising town of Lübeck wished to be admitted into the guild, every effort was made to keep her out. The intervention of the Emperor Frederick II. was powerless to overcome the dread felt by Cologne toward a possible rival to its supremacy. But this obstacle to the extension of the league was soon overcome. In 1260, a charter of Henry III. assured protection to all German merchants. A few years later Hamburg and Lübeck were allowed to form their own guilds. The Hansa of Cologne, which had long been the only guild, now sinks to the position of a branch Hansa, and has to endure others with equal privileges. Over all the branch Hansas rises the "Hansa Alamanniæ," first mentioned in 1282.

Growing importance of Lubeck.

The opposition to the exclusive pretensions of Cologne was chiefly the work of Lübeck, and with the rise of Lübeck we must connect the second element, the internal political element, which contributed to the formation of the Hansa. The old capitals of German trade, Cologne and Wisby, took their stand on the unions of German merchants abroad.

Political elements.

In opposition to them Lübeck found support in home alliances, in its league with Hamburg and with the Wendish towns. The alliance between Lübeck and Hamburg is generally, and with some truth, given as the origin of the Hanseatic League. It was well fitted to play this part. These two towns commanded the commerce of the North Sea and the Baltic. By taking the land route between them, a merchant could avoid the dangerous passage of the Sound or the Belts, and could evade the Sound dues which were often exacted by the Danish kings. The first alliance between the two towns, for which there is no exact date, had for its object the defence of the roads between them. From that came agreements as to mutual legal security, and thence they advanced to common political action in London and in Flanders.

Dues exacted by the Danish kings.

The league between Lübeck and Hamburg was not the only, and possibly not the first, league among the German towns. But it gradually absorbed all the others. Besides the influence of foreign commercial interests there were other motives which compelled the [illegible] union. The chief of these were the [illegible] of commercial routes both by sea [illegible] the vindication of town inde- [illegible] d to the claims of the

League between Hamburg and Lubeck

[illegible] h Century the Hansa [illegible] of merchants abroad to

a league of towns at home. In 1330, mention is first made of the Hanse towns, where before it had been the Hanse merchants. In 1343, the league is first designated as the Hansa by a foreign prince, Magnus of Norway, and thus acquires a diplomatic position as a united state. In 1356, a statute about mercantile privileges at Bruges is made, not by the German merchants, but by the towns themselves, through their representatives assembled at Bruges. Henceforth the town-league subordinates to itself the mercantile unions; the factories and depots of the merchants lose their independence, and become the "counters," as they are called, of the Hanse towns.

First mention of the Hansa.

The league thus formed would scarcely have held long together or displayed any real federal unity but for the pressure of external dangers. The true function of the Hansa, and especially of the Baltic towns, was to conduct the commerce between the east and west of northern Europe. But the geographical position of the Scandinavian countries enabled them to interpose a bar to this commerce. Thus from an early period the Hansa stood in a position of watchful hostility toward those countries. It was the careful maintenance of this watch over the Baltic which gave Lübeck its position in the League, and which gave the League its political, as contrasted with its mercantile, character.

Its political character.

From 1361 we can date the regular meet-

The general assemblies.

ings of the general assemblies, whose acts (*Recesse*) have been preserved in the archives at Lübeck. These assemblies met once a year about midsummer, usually but not exclusively at Lübeck. They were attended by representatives of the various towns, but no one below the rank of councillor could act as representative. The League always endeavored to retain its aristocratic character. The assemblies busied themselves with all the details of foreign policy as well as of internal management. The penalty for non-observance of their decrees was expulsion from the League (*Verhansung*). The chief offence which brought this punishment on a town was the admission of democratic tendencies. The struggle between the artisans and the old burgher families, which is so important a feature of European history in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, necessarily affected the Hansa towns. It was for admitting artisans to the council that Brunswick was expelled from the League in 1375, and was not readmitted till 1380, when the old constitution was restored.

Aristocratic character of the Hanseatic League

The composition of the League was always fluctuating, and it is impossible to say at any fixed time how many members it contained. The towns lay scattered over a large territory, extending from Revel to the Scheldt, and their interests, both territorial and commercial, must have often clashed. It was only in

time of danger that the League displayed any real consistency. The wonder lies, not in the dissensions which sprang up among the towns, but in the fact that for three centuries they did in a manner hold together, and not infrequently sacrificed their individual advantages for the common good.

The decline of the Hansa.

With the Sixteenth Century the Hansa begins really to decline. The English and Dutch proved formidable rivals for the commercial supremacy in northern Europe. Henry VII. secured, in 1489, a treaty from Hans of Denmark, which gave England the right of commerce in the northern seas, and which enabled English merchants to found mercantile establishments in the ports. The herrings no longer came in crowds to the Swedish and Norwegian coasts, where the members of the Hansa had so long held a practical monopoly of the fisheries. These fish made at this time one of their periodical changes of course, and went to the coasts of Holland. The Dutch were not slow to grasp at the advantages thus offered to them. Another great blow was dealt to Hanseatic commerce by the grand discoveries of the age. Most of the German towns were out of the way of the new commercial routes, and could scarcely hope to hold their own with more favorably situated countries.

Events that led to the decline.

Besides these causes of decline, the domestic position of the Hanse towns had altered

very much for the worse. While in other countries the power of the feudal nobles had fallen before the rapid rise of the monarchy, aided by the sympathy of the commons, in Germany alone the power of the princes had constantly increased, at the expense of both king and people. The Reformation and the consequent secularization of church property in northern Germany only served to strengthen the hands of the lay princes. Such a state of things was fatal to the independence of a town league which had always stood opposed to the lawless independence of the nobles. Gradually most of the towns fell off from the League. Foreign countries triumphed at the fall of their formerly successful rival. In Elizabeth's reign the Hanse merchants in London lost the privileges which they had held since the time of Henry III.

Effect of the Reformation.

Religious disturbances and the fearful disasters of the Thirty Years' War completed the work thus begun. The peace of Westphalia restored the form but not the reality of the League. In 1669, the last general assembly was held. Henceforth the name of Hanse towns was kept by Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen, but it was to designate their independence, not their union.

Last general assembly.

BATTLE OF CRECY

(A.D. 1346)

DAVID HUME

IT is natural to think that Philip, at the head of so vast an army, was impatient to take revenge on the English, and to prevent the disgrace to which he must be exposed if an inferior enemy should be allowed, after ravaging so great a part of his kingdom, to escape with impunity. Edward also was sensible that such must be the object of the French monarch; and as he had advanced but a little way before his enemy, he saw the danger of precipitating his march over the plains of Picardy, and of exposing his rear to the insults of the numerous cavalry, in which the French camp abounded. He took, therefore, a prudent resolution: he chose his ground with advantage, near the village of Crecy; he disposed his army in excellent order; he determined to await in tranquillity the arrival of the enemy; and he hoped that their eagerness to engage and to prevent his retreat after all their past disappointments, would hurry them on to some rash and ill-concerted action. He drew up his army on a gentle ascent, and

Philip seeks revenge.

divided them into three lines: the first was commanded by the Prince of Wales, and, under him, by the Earls of Warwick and Oxford, by Harcourt, and by the Lords Chandos, Holland, and other noblemen: the earls of Arundel and Northampton, with the Lords Willoughby, Basset, Roos, and Sir Lewis Tufton, were at the head of the second line: he took to himself the command of the third division, by which he purposed either to bring succor to the two first lines, or to secure a retreat in case of any misfortune, or to push his advantages against the enemy. He had likewise the precaution to throw up trenches on his flanks, in order to secure himself from the numerous bodies of the French, who might assail him from that quarter; and he placed all his baggage behind him in a wood, which he also secured by an intrenchment.

Edward prepares for attack.

It is related by some historians that Edward, besides the resources which he found in his own genius and presence of mind, employed also a new invention against the enemy, and placed in his front some pieces of artillery, the first that had yet been made use of on any remarkable occasion in Europe.

The invention of artillery was at this time known in France as well as in England; but Philip, in his hurry to overtake the enemy, had probably left his cannon behind him, which he regarded as a useless incumbrance. All his other movements discovered the same im-

Artillery first employed.

Philip's confidence.

prudence and precipitation. Impelled by anger, a dangerous counsellor, and trusting to the great superiority of his numbers, he thought that all depended on forcing an engagement with the English; and that, if he could once reach the enemy in their retreat, the victory on his side was certain and inevitable. He made a hasty march, in some confusion, from Abbeville; but after he had advanced above two leagues, some gentlemen, whom he had sent before to take a view of the enemy, returned to him, and brought him intelligence that they had seen the English drawn up in great order, and awaiting his arrival. They therefore advised him to defer the combat till the ensuing day, when his army would have recovered from their fatigue, and might be disposed into better order than their present hurry had permitted them to observe. Philip assented to this counsel; but the former precipitation of his march, and the impatience of the French nobility, made it impracticable for him to put it in execution. One division pressed upon another: orders to stop were not seasonably conveyed to all of them: this immense body was not governed by sufficient discipline to be manageable; and the French army, imperfectly formed into three lines, arrived, already fatigued and disordered, in presence of the enemy. The first line, consisting of 15,000 Genoese crossbow-men, was commanded by Anthony Doria and Charles

French lack of discipline and order.

Grimaldi: the second was led by the Count of Alençon, brother to the King: the King himself was at the head of the third. Besides the French monarch, there were no less than three crowned heads in this engagement: the King of Bohemia, the King of the Romans, his son, and the King of Majorca; with all the nobility and great vassals of the crown of France. The army now consisted of above 120,000 men, more than three times the number of the enemy. But the prudence of one man was superior to the advantage of all this force and splendor.

The English, on the approach of the enemy, kept their ranks firm and immovable; and the Genoese first began the attack. There had happened, a little before the engagement, a thunder-shower, which had moistened and relaxed the strings of the Genoese crossbows; their arrows, for this reason, fell short of the enemy. The English archers, taking their bows out of their cases, poured in a shower of arrows upon this multitude who were opposed to them, and soon threw them into disorder. The Genoese fell back upon the heavy-armed cavalry of the Count of Alençon; who, enraged at their cowardice, ordered his troops to put them to the sword. The artillery fired amid the crowd; the English archers continued to send in their arrows among them; and nothing was to be seen in that vast body but hurry and confusion, terror and dismay.

The Genoese begin the attack.

The Black Prince follows up his advantage.

The young Prince of Wales had the presence of mind to take advantage of this situation, and to lead on his line to the charge. The French cavalry, however, recovering somewhat their order, and encouraged by the example of their leader, made a stout resistance; and having at last cleared themselves of the Genoese runaways, advanced upon their enemies, and by their superior numbers began to hem them round. The Earls of Arundel and Northampton now advanced their line to sustain the Prince, who, ardent in his first feats of arms, set an example of valor which was imitated by all his followers. The battle became, for some time, hot and dangerous; and the Earl of Warwick, apprehensive of the event from the superior numbers of the French, despatched a messenger to the King, and entreated him to send succors to the relief of the Prince. Edward had chosen his station on the top of the hill; and he surveyed in tranquillity the scene of action. When the messenger accosted him, his first question was, whether the Prince was slain or wounded? On receiving an answer in the negative, "Return," said he, "to my son, and tell him that I reserve the honor of the day to him: I am confident that he will show himself worthy of the honor of knighthood which I so lately conferred upon him: he will be able, without my assistance, to repel the enemy." This speech being reported to the Prince and his atten-

Edward is asked for reinforcements.

dants, inspired them with fresh courage: they made an attack with redoubled vigor on the French, in which the Count of Alençon was slain: that whole line of cavalry was thrown into disorder: the riders were killed or dismounted: the Welsh infantry rushed into the throng, and with their long knives cut the throats of all who had fallen; nor was any quarter given that day by the victors.

No quarter given.

The King of France advanced in vain with the rear to sustain the line commanded by his brother: he found them already discomfited; and the example of their rout increased the confusion which was before but too prevalent in his own body. He had himself a horse killed under him: he was remounted; and though left almost alone, he seemed still determined to maintain the combat; when John of Hainault seized the reins of his bridle, turned about his horse, and carried him off the field of battle. The whole French army took to flight, and was followed and put to the sword, without mercy, by the enemy; till the darkness of the night put an end to the pursuit. The King, on his return to the camp, flew into the arms of the Prince of Wales, and exclaimed, "My brave son! Persevere in your honorable cause: you are my son; for valiantly have you acquitted yourself to-day: you have shown yourself worthy of empire."

The King praises his son.

This battle, which is known by the name of the battle of Crecy, began after three

The French take to flight.

o'clock in the afternoon, and continued till evening. The next morning was foggy; and as the English observed that many of the enemy had lost their way in the night and in the mist, they employed a stratagem to bring them into their power: they erected on the eminences some French standards which they had taken in the battle; and all who were allured by this false signal were put to the sword, and no quarter given them. In excuse for this inhumanity, it was alleged that the French King had given like orders to his troops; but the real reason probably was, that the English, in their present situation, did not choose to be incumbered with prisoners. On the day of battle and on the ensuing, there fell, by a moderate computation, 1,200 French knights, 1,400 gentlemen, 4,000 men-at-arms, besides about 30,000 of inferior rank: many of the principal nobility of France, the Dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon, the Earls of Flanders, Blois, Vaudemont, Aumale, were left on the field of battle. The kings also of Bohemia and Majorca were slain. The fate of the former was remarkable: he was blind from age; but being resolved to hazard his person, and set an example to others, he ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each side to the horses of two gentlemen of his train; and his dead body, and those of his attendants, were afterward found among the slain, with their horses standing by them in that situation. His

Magnitude of the French losses.

crest was three ostrich feathers; and his motto these German words, *Ich dien* (I serve): which the Prince of Wales and his successors adopted, in memorial of this great victory. The action may seem no less remarkable for the small loss sustained by the English, than for the great slaughter of the French: there were killed in it only one esquire and three knights, and very few of inferior rank; a demonstration, that the prudent disposition planned by Edward, and the disorderly attack made by the French, had rendered the whole rather a rout than a battle; which was indeed the common case with engagements in those times.

Origin of the Prince of Wales's motto.

The great prudence of Edward appeared not only in obtaining this memorable victory, but in the measures which he pursued after it. Not elated by his present prosperity, so far as to expect the total conquest of France, or even that of any considerable provinces; he purposed only to secure such an easy entrance into that kingdom as might afterward open the way to more moderate advantages. He knew the extreme distance of Guienne: he had experienced the difficulty and uncertainty of penetrating on the side of the Low Countries, and had already lost much of his authority over Flanders by the death of D'Arteville, who had been murdered by the populace themselves, his former partisans, on his attempting to transfer the sovereignty of that province to

Edward's great prudence.

the Prince of Wales. The King, therefore, limited his ambition to the conquest of Calais: and after the interval of a few days, which he employed in interring the slain, he marched with his victorious army, and presented himself before the place.

He presents himself before Calais.

[illegible]LUTIONS IN ROME

([illegible] 1547)

HENRY HALLAM

R[illegible] was, throughout the Middle [illegible] little disposed to acquiesce [illegible] of her bishop. His [illegible] confirmed by [illegible] Emperor [illegible] long [illegible] reign, [illegible] be free. Besides [illegible] insubordination and anarchy [illegible], which applied equally [illegible] sentiments more peculiar [illegible] a continual, though not [illegible] for many centuries. The [illegible] enough, in the wreck of that [illegible] to swell the bosoms of her [illegible] consciousness of their own dig- [illegible] the venerable name, they [illegible] monuments of art and em- [illegible], in the illusions of national [illegible] of the buildings [illegible] forever. About the middle of [illegible] Century, these recollections w[illegible] the eloquence of Arnold of [illegible] heretic, who preached [illegible] jurisdiction of the [illegible]

archy. In a temporary intoxication of fancy, they were led to make a ridiculous show of self-importance toward Frederick Barbarossa, when he came to receive the imperial crown; but the German sternly chided their ostentation, and chastised their resistance. With the popes they could deal more securely. Several of them were expelled from Rome during that age by the seditious citizens. Lucius II. died of hurts received in a tumult. The government was vested in fifty-six Senators, annually chosen by the people, through the intervention of an electoral body: ten delegates from each of the thirteen districts of the city. This constitution lasted not quite fifty years. In 1192, Rome imitated the prevailing fashion by the appointment of an annual foreign magistrate. Except in name, the Senator of Rome appears to have perfectly resembled the podestà of other cities. This magistrate superseded the representative Senate, which had proved by no means adequate to control the most lawless aristocracy of Italy. I shall not repeat the story of Brancaleon's rigorous and inflexible justice, which a great historian has already drawn from obscurity. It illustrates not the annals of Rome alone, but the general state of Italian society, the nature of a podestà's duty, and the difficulties of its execution. The office of Senator survives after more than six hundred years; a foreign magistrate still resides in the capitol;

Barbarossa chastises the Romans

The Senator of Rome.

to its capital, as the contemptible feuds of the Orsini and Colonna families. Whatever there was of government, whether administered by a legate from Avignon, or by the municipal authorities, had lost all hold on these powerful barons.

The Tribune Rienzi.

In the midst of this degradation and wretchedness, an obscure man, Nicola di Rienzi, conceived the project of restoring Rome not only to good order, but even to her ancient greatness. He had received an education beyond his birth, and nourished his mind with the study of the best writers. After many harangues to the people, which the nobility, blinded by their self-confidence, did not attempt to repress, Rienzi suddenly excited an insurrection, and obtained complete success. He was placed at the head of a new government, with the title of tribune, and with almost unlimited power. The first effects of this revolution were wonderful. All the nobles submitted, though with great reluctance; the roads were cleared of robbers; tranquillity was restored at home; some severe examples of justice intimidated offenders; and the tribune was regarded by all the people as the destined restorer of Rome and Italy. Though the court of Avignon could not approve of such a usurpation, it temporized enough not directly to oppose it. Most of the Italian republics, and some of the princes, sent ambassadors, and seemed to recognize pretensions

Restoration of law and order.

The Black Death

(A.D. 1348)

From Painting by Mignard

Rienzi, the freedom of Rome seems to have revived in republican institutions, though with names less calculated to inspire peculiar recollections. Magistrates called bannerets, chosen from the thirteen districts of the city, with a militia of three thousand citizens at their command, were placed at the head of this commonwealth. The great object of this new organization was to intimidate the Roman nobility, whose outrages, in the total absence of government, had grown intolerable. Several of them were hanged the first year by order of the bannerets. The citizens, however, had no serious intention of throwing off their subjection to the popes. They provided for their own security, on account of the lamentable secession and neglect of those who claimed allegiance while they denied protection. But they were ready to acknowledge and welcome back their bishop as their sovereign. Even without this, they surrendered their republican constitution in 1362—it does not appear for what reason—and permitted the legate of Innocent VI. to assume the government. We find, however, the institution of bannerets revived, and in full authority, some years afterward. But the internal history of Rome appears to be obscure, and I have not had opportunities of examining it minutely. Some degree of political freedom the city probably enjoyed during the schism of the Church; but it is not easy to discriminate the

Outrages of the nobles.

The papal legate governs.

assertion of legitimate privileges from the licentious tumults of the barons or populace. In 1435, the Romans formally took away the government from Eugenius IV., and elected seven signiors or chief magistrates, like the Priors of Florence. But this revolution was not of long continuance. On the death of Eugenius, the citizens deliberated upon proposing a constitutional charter to the future Pope. Stephen Porcaro, a man of good family, and inflamed by a strong spirit of liberty, was one of their principal instigators. But the people did not sufficiently partake of that spirit. No measures were taken upon this occasion; and Porcaro, whose ardent imagination disguised the hopelessness of his enterprise, tampering in a fresh conspiracy, was put to death under the pontificate of Nicholas V.

Seven chief magistrates elected.

THE BLACK DEATH

(A.D. 1348)

J. F. C. HECKER

THE most memorable example of calamitous plagues is afforded by a great pestilence of the Fourteenth Century, which desolated Asia, Europe, and Africa, and of which the people yet preserve the remembrance in gloomy traditions. It was an Oriental plague, marked by inflammatory boils and tumors of the glands, such as break out in no other febrile disease. On account of these inflammatory boils, and from the black spots, indicatory of a putrid decomposition, which appeared upon the skin, it was called in Germany and in the northern kingdoms of Europe, the *Black Death,* and in Italy, *la Mortalega Grande,* the Great Mortality.

An Oriental plague.

The imperial writer, Kantakusenos, whose own son, Andronikus, died of this plague in Constantinople, notices great imposthumes of the thighs and arms of those affected, which, when opened, afforded relief by the discharge of an offensive matter. Buboes, which are the

Description of the plague.

infallible signs of the Oriental plague, are thus plainly indicated, for he makes special mention of smaller boils on the arms and in the face, as also in other parts of the body, and clearly distinguishes these from the blisters, which are no less produced by plague in all its forms. In many cases black spots broke out all over the body, either single, or united and confluent.

Premonitory terrestrial revolutions.

Mighty revolutions, of which we have credible information, had preceded it. From China to the Atlantic, the foundations of the earth were shaken,—throughout Asia and Europe the atmosphere was in commotion, and endangered, by its baleful influence, both animal and vegetable life.

Droughts, floods and earthquakes in China.

The series of these great events began in the year 1333, fifteen years before the plague broke out in Europe: they first appeared in China. Here a parching drought, accompanied by famine, commenced in the tract of country watered by the rivers Kiang and Hoai. This was followed by such violent torrents of rain in and about Kingsai, at that time the capital of the empire, that, according to tradition, more than 400,000 people perished in the floods. Finally the mountain Tsincheou fell in, and vast clefts were formed in the earth. In the succeeding year (1334), passing over fabulous traditions, the neighborhood of Canton was visited by inundations; while in Tche, after an unexampled drought, a plague arose

which is said to have carried off about 5,000,000 of people. A few months afterward an earthquake followed, at and near Kingsai; and subsequent to the falling in of the mountains of Ki-ming-chan, a lake was formed of more than a hundred leagues in circumference, where, again, thousands found their grave. In Houkouang and Ho-nan, a drought prevailed for five months; and innumerable swarms of locusts destroyed the vegetation; while famine and pestilence, as usual, followed in their train. Connected accounts of the condition of Europe before this great catastrophe are not to be expected from the writers of the Fourteenth Century. It is remarkable, however, that simultaneously with a drought and renewed floods in China, in 1336, many uncommon atmospheric phenomena, and in the winter, frequent thunderstorms were observed in the north of France; and so early as the eventful year of 1333, an eruption of Etna took place.

Disturbances extend to Europe.

The signs of terrestrial commotions commenced in Europe in the year 1348, after the intervening districts of country in Asia had probably been visited in the same manner.

On the island of Cyprus the plague from the East had already broken out, when an earthquake shook the foundations of the island, and was accompanied by so frightful a hurricane that the inhabitants, who had slain their Mahometan slaves, in order that

Earthquake and tornado in Cyprus.

they might not themselves be subjugated by them, fled in dismay in all directions. The sea overflowed—the ships were dashed to pieces on the rocks, and few outlived the terrific event whereby this fertile and blooming island was converted into a desert. Before the earthquake, a pestiferous wind spread so poisonous an odor that many, being overpowered by it, fell down suddenly and expired in dreadful agonies.

Poisonous condition of the atmosphere.

This phenomenon is one of the rarest that have ever been observed, for nothing is more constant than the composition of the air; and in no respect has nature been more careful in the preservation of organic life. Never have naturalists discovered in the atmosphere foreign elements, which, evident to the senses, and borne by the winds, spread from land to land carrying disease over all portions of the earth, as is recounted to have taken place in the year 1348. Yet German accounts say expressly, that a thick, stinking mist advanced from the East and spread itself over Italy; and there could be no deception in so palpable a phenomenon.

To attempt, five centuries after that age of desolation, to point out the causes of a cosmical commotion, which has never recurred to an equal extent,—to indicate scientifically the influences which called forth so terrific a poison in the bodies of men and animals, exceeds the limits of human understanding

Connected natural phenomena

In the progress of connected natural phenomena, from East to West, that great law of Nature is plainly revealed which has so often and evidently manifested itself in the earth's organism, as well as in the states of nations dependent upon it. In the inmost depths of the globe, that impulse was given in the year 1333, which in uninterrupted succession for six-and-twenty years shook the surface of the earth, even to the western shores of Europe. From the very beginning the air partook of the terrestrial concussion, atmospherical waters overflowed the land, or its plants and animals perished under the scorching heat. The insect tribe was wonderfully called into life, as if animated beings were destined to complete the destruction which astral and telluric powers had begun. Thus did this dreadful work of nature advance from year to year; it was a progressive infection of the Zones, which exerted a powerful influence both above and beneath the surface of the earth; and after having been perceptible in slighter indications, at the commencement of the terrestrial commotions in China, convulsed the whole earth.

Insect plagues.

Contagion communicated by caravans.

Far more powerful than the excitement of the latent elements of the plague by atmospheric influences was the effect of the contagion communicated from one people to another, on the great roads, and in the harbors of the Mediterranean. From China, the

route of the caravans lay to the north of the Caspian Sea, through Central Asia to Tauris. Here ships were ready to take the produce of the East to Constantinople, the capital of commerce, and the medium of connection between Asia, Europe and Africa. Other caravans went from India to Asia Minor, and touched at the cities south of the Caspian Sea, and lastly from Bagdad, through Arabia to Egypt; also the maritime communication on the Red Sea, from India to Arabia and Egypt, was not inconsiderable. In all these directions contagion made its way; and, doubtless Constantinople and the harbors of Asia Minor are to be regarded as the foci of infection; whence it radiated to the most distant seaports and islands.

From China to Europe.

The precise days of its eruption in the individual towns are no longer to be ascertained; but it was not simultaneous; for in Florence the disease appeared in the beginning of April; in Cesena, the 1st of June; and place after place was attacked throughout the whole year; so that the plague, after it had passed through the whole of France and Germany, where, however, it did not make its ravages until the following year, did not break out till August in England; where it advanced so gradually that a period of three months elapsed before it reached London. The northern kingdoms were attacked by it in 1349. Sweden, indeed, not until November of that

Gradual steady advance.

year: almost two years after its eruption in Avignon. Poland received the plague in 1349, probably from Germany, if not from the northern countries; but in Russia, it did not make its appearance until 1351, more than three years after it had broken out in Constantinople. Instead of advancing in a northwesterly direction from Tauris and from the Caspian Sea, it had thus made the great circuit of the Black Sea, by way of Constantinople, Southern and Central Europe, England, the northern kingdoms and Poland, before it reached the Russian territories; a phenomenon which has not again occurred with respect to more recent pestilences originating in Asia.

It follows the coast line of Europe.

It was reported to Pope Clement at Avignon that throughout the East, probably with the exception of China, 23,840,000 people had fallen victims to the plague. In Florence there died of the Black Plague, 60,000; in Venice, 100,000; in Marseilles (in one month), 16,000; in Sienna, 70,000; in Paris, 50,000; in St. Denys, 14,000; in Avignon, 60,000; in Strasburg, 16,000; in Lübeck, 9,000; in Basle, 14,000; in Erfürt (at least), 16,000; in Weimar, 5,000; in Limburg, 2,500; in London (at least), 100,000; in Norwich, 51,000; to which may be added Franciscan Friars in Germany 124,434, Minorites in Italy 30,000. This short catalogue might by a laborious and uncertain calculation, deduced from other

Number of victims.

sources, be easily further multiplied, but would still fail to give a true picture of the depopulation which took place. Lübeck, at that time the Venice of the North, which could no longer contain the multitudes that flocked to it, was thrown into such consternation on the eruption of the plague that the citizens destroyed themselves as if in frenzy. It is estimated that a number of small country towns and villages, which have been estimated, and not too highly, at 200,000, were bereft of all their inhabitants.

Duration of the plague.

The whole period during which the Black Plague raged with destructive violence in Europe was, with the exception of Russia, from the year 1347 to 1350. The plagues which in the sequel often returned until the year 1383, we do not consider as belonging to "the Great Mortality." They were rather common pestilences, without inflammation of the lungs, such as in former times, and in the following centuries were excited by the matter of contagion everywhere existing, and which, on every favorable occasion, gained ground anew, as is usually the case with this frightful disease.

Ravages among pilgrims.

The concourse of large bodies of people was especially dangerous; and thus the premature celebration of the Jubilee, to which Clement VI. cited the faithful to Rome (1350), during the great epidemic, caused a new eruption of the plague, from which

it is said that scarcely one in a hundred of the pilgrims escaped. Italy was, in consequence, depopulated anew; and those who returned spread poison and corruption of morals in all directions.

Frightful mortality.

Of all the estimates of the number of lives lost in Europe, the most probable is that, altogether, a fourth part of the inhabitants were carried off: Now, if Europe at present contains 210,000,000 inhabtitants, the population not to take a higher estimate, which might be easily justified, amounted to at least 105,000,000, in the Sixteenth Century.

It may, therefore, be assumed, without exaggeration, that Europe lost during the Black Death 25,000,000 of inhabitants. That her nations could so quickly overcome such a fearful concussion in their external circumstances, and, in general, without retrograding more than they actually did, could so develop their energies in the following century, is a most convincing proof of the indestructibility of human society as a whole. To assume, however, that it did not suffer any essential change internally, because in appearance everything remained as before, is inconsistent with a just view of cause and effect. Many historians seem to have adopted such an opinion, accustomed, as usual, to judge of the moral condition of the people solely according to the vicissitudes of earthly power, the events of battles, and the influence of religion,

Permanent effects of the visitation.

but to pass over with indifference the great phenomena of nature, which modify, not only the surface of the earth, but also the human mind. Hence, most of them have touched but superficially on the "Great Mortality" of the Fourteenth Century. We, for our parts, are convinced that, in the history of the world, the Black Death is one of the most important events which have prepared the way for the present state of Europe.

The mental shock sustained by all nations during the prevalence of the Black Plague is without parallel and beyond description. In the eyes of the timorous, danger was the certain harbinger of death; many fell victims to fear, on the first appearance of the distemper, and the most stout-hearted lost their confidence. Thus, after reliance on the future had died away, the spiritual union which binds man to his family and his fellow-creatures was gradually dissolved. The pious closed their accounts with the world—eternity presented itself to their view—their only remaining desire was for a participation in the consolations of religion, because to them death was disarmed of its sting.

Terror kills multitudes.

While all countries were filled with lamentations and woe, there first arose in Hungary, and afterward in Germany, the Brotherhood of the Flagellants, called also the Brethren of the Cross, or Cross-bearers, who took upon themselves the repentance of the people for the

Brotherhood of the Cross.

sins they had committed, and offered prayers and supplications for the averting of this plague. This Order consisted chiefly of persons of the lower class, who were either actuated by sincere contrition, or who joyfully availed themselves of this pretext for idleness, and were hurried along with the tide of distracting frenzy. But as these brotherhoods gained in repute, and were welcomed by the people with veneration and enthusiasm, many nobles and ecclesiastics ranged themselves under their standard; and their bands were not infrequently augmented by children, honorable women and nuns, so powerfully were the minds of the most opposite temperaments enslaved by this infatuation. They marched through the cities, in well organized processions, with leaders and singers; their heads covered as far as the eyes, their look fixed on the ground, accompanied by every token of the deepest contrition and mourning. They were robed in sombre garments, with red crosses on the breast, back, and cap, and bore triple scourges tied in three or four knots, in which points of iron were fixed. Tapers and magnificent banners of velvet and cloth of gold were carried before them; wherever they made their appearance, they were welcomed by the ringing of the bells; and the people flocked from all quarters to listen to their hymns and to witness their penance, with devotion and tears.

Accessions from all ranks.

quainted with nature and the constitution of society. Almost the only credible accounts of the manner of living and of the ruin which occurred in private life during this pestilence are from Italy; and these may enable us to form a just estimate of the general state of families in Europe, taking into consideration what is peculiar in the manners of each country.

Conditions of family life affected

"When the evil had become universal" (speaking of Florence) "the hearts of all the inhabitants were closed to feelings of humanity. They fled from the sick and all that belonged to them, hoping by these means to save themselves. Others shut themselves up in their houses, with their wives, their children and households, living on the most costly food, but carefully avoiding all excess. None were allowed access to them; no intelligence of death or sickness was permitted to reach their ears; and they spent their time in singing and music, and other pastimes. Others, on the contrary, considered eating and drinking to excess, amusements of all descriptions, the indulgence of every gratification, and an indifference to what was passing around them, as the best medicine, and acted accordingly. They wandered day and night, from one tavern to another, and feasted without moderation or bounds. In this way they endeavored to avoid all contact with the sick, and abandoned their houses and property to chance,

Luxury and excesses.

like men whose death-knell had already tolled.

"Amid this general lamentation and woe, the influence and authority of every law, human and divine, vanished. Most of those who were in office had been carried off by the plague, or lay sick, or had lost so many members of their families, that they were unable to attend to their duties; so that thenceforth every one acted as he thought proper. Others, in their mode of living, chose a middle course. They ate and drank what they pleased, and walked abroad, carrying odoriferous flowers, herbs or spices, which they smelt to from time to time, in order to invigorate the brain, and to avert the baneful influence of the air, infected by the sick, and by the innumerable corpses of those who had died of the plague. Others carried their precaution still further, and thought the surest way to escape death was by flight. They therefore left the city; women as well as men abandoning their dwellings and their relations, and retiring into the country. But of these also many were carried off, most of them alone and deserted by all the world, themselves having previously set the example. Thus it was that one citizen fled from another—a neighbor from his neighbors, a relation from his relations; and in the end so completely had terror extinguished every kindlier feeling that the brother forsook the brother, the sister the sister, the wife her hus-

Perfumes and antidotes.

Terror breaks family ties.

band; and at last, even the parent his own offspring, and abandoned them, unvisited and unsoothed, to their fate. Those, therefore, that stood in need of assistance fell a prey to greedy attendants, who for an exorbitant recompense merely handed the sick their food and medicine, remained with them in their last moments, and then not infrequently became themselves victims to their avarice and lived not to enjoy their extorted gain. Propriety and decorum were extinguished among the helpless sick. Females of rank seemed to forget their natural bashfulness, and committed the care of their persons, indiscriminately, to men and women of the lowest order. No longer were women, relatives or friends found in the house of mourning, to share the grief of the survivors; no longer was the corpse accompanied to the grave by neighbors and a numerous train of priests, carrying wax tapers and singing psalms, nor was it borne along by other citizens of equal rank. Many breathed their last without a friend to soothe their dying pillow; and few indeed were they who departed amid the lamentations and tears of their friends and kindred. Instead of sorrow and mourning appeared indifference, frivolity and mirth; this being considered, especially by the females, as conducive to health. Seldom was the body followed by even ten or twelve attendants; and instead of the usual bearers and sextons, mercenaries of the lowest

Funeral customs omitted.

of the populace undertook the office for the sake of gain, and accompanied by only a few priests, and often without a single taper, it was borne to the very nearest church, and lowered into the first grave that was not already too full to receive it. Among the middling classes, and especially among the poor, the misery was still greater. Poverty or negligence induced most of these to remain in their dwellings, or in the immediate neighborhood; and thus they fell by thousands: and many ended their lives in the streets by day and by night. The stench of putrefying corpses was often the first indication to their neighbors that more deaths had occurred. The survivors, to preserve themselves from infection, generally had the bodies taken out of the houses and laid before the doors, where the early morn found them in heaps, exposed to the affrighted gaze of the passing stranger. It was no longer possible to have a bier for every corpse. Three or four were generally laid together—husband and wife, father and mother, with two or three children, were frequently borne to the grave on the same bier; and it often happened that two priests would accompany a coffin, bearing the cross before it, and be joined on the way by several other funerals; so that instead of one, there were five or six bodies for interment."

Misery of the poor.

Whole families in one burial.

Thus far Boccaccio. On the conduct of the

Conduct of the clergy.

priests, another contemporary* observes: "In large and small towns, they had withdrawn themselves through fear, leaving the performance of ecclesiastical duties to the few who were found courageous and faithful enough to undertake them." But we ought not on that account to throw more blame on them than on the others; for we find proofs of the same timidity and heartlessness in every class.

The charitable orders.

During the prevalence of the Black Plague, the charitable orders conducted themselves admirably, and did as much good as can be done by individual bodies in times of great misery and destruction; when compassion, courage and the nobler feelings are found but in the few, while cowardice, selfishness and ill-will, with the baser passions in their train, assert the supremacy.

[In 1353, the conquest of Gallipoli, the key of the Hellespont, gave the Ottomans their first foothold in Europe.]

---

* Guillelm de Nangis.

EXECUTION OF MARINO FALIERO

(A.D. 1355)

OSCAR BROWNING

THE Doge Andrea Dandolo died in September 1354. He had governed the republic for twelve years with remarkable wisdom and moderation. He was succeeded by Marino Faliero, who has left a name of sinister omen in the long line of Venetian sovereigns. Faliero was a man of great wealth, and was at this time seventy-six years of age. He heard of his election at Verona, as he was returning from an embassy to the court of Avignon. He entered in triumph on October 15. The first weeks of his dukedom were signalized by disaster. After a vain attempt on the part of the Visconti to make peace, the Genoese braced themselves for a new effort. They placed thirty-three galleys under the command of Paganino Doria; the Venetians met them with thirty-five galleys under Niccolò Pisani. The loss of the town of Parenza, and terror lest the Genoese should attack the capital, had caused the death of Dandolo. Pisani was recalled,

Faliero's accession.

but on his way home he put into the harbor of Porto Lungo on the coast of Laconia. Here, almost on the very spot where a crushing blow had been inflicted by the Athenians upon the Spartans in the Peloponnesian war, Doria pursued him, and on November 3 succeeded in bringing on a battle which resulted in the entire defeat of the Venetians. Doria returned in triumph to Genoa, bringing with him the Venetian Admiral with all his fleet and 6,870 prisoners. The defeat of Grimaldi at Loiera was amply revenged. The result of the battle was, first, a suspension of arms and then a definite peace. The main conditions were that the Genoese and Venetians were to restore each other's prisoners, and the Venetians were not to sail to Rome for three years; also that no Genoese ship was to pass into the Adriatic, and no Venetian ship to pass between Porto Pisano and Marseilles. As a guarantee for the observance of the conditions, Venice and Genoa were each to deposit a hundred thousand gold florins in Siena, Pisa, Florence, or Perugia. The treaty was dated June 1, 1355.

Triumph of the Genoese.

Before this treaty was concluded a terrible conspiracy had been detected and punished at Venice. The conspiracy of Marino Faliero may or may not have had a romantic origin. It is certain that its real cause lay in the fundamental character of Venetian institutions. We have seen how the government of the Republic

The conspiracy of Marino Faliero.

came gradually to be confined to a close oligarchy; how the Great Council usurped the power which belonged to the people on one side, and to the Doge on the other; how the Great Council itself was confined to a comparatively few families; and how the power of the Great Council was circumscribed by the creation of a political inquisition, in the shape of the Council of Ten. Lord Beaconsfield is believed to have invented the term, "our Venetian constitution," in speaking of the English Government, meaning to imply that the parliament or "the chambers," as perhaps he would have called them, have curtailed the authority of the sovereign, and absorbed the political influence of the people, and that the parliament itself had fallen into the hands of certain privileged families, namely, the Whig families of the revolution of 1688. It is not certain what end Faliero had in view. The idea has been generally accepted, founded on the evidence of Matteo Villani, that he desired to establish a popular government. Recent writers have thought it more probable that he wished to establish a despotism similar to those existing in the other towns of Italy. Certain it is that he wished to overthrow the exclusive authority of the nobles. One of his principal accomplices was Bertuccio Isdraeli, a distinguished sailor, and a man of the people. It may be that the recent war against Genoa had given an impulse to democracy, just as at

Council of Ten the Government.

Ultimate aims.

Athens the democratic sailors took a position of greater influence when the fleet had been brought into prominence. On the other hand, the Doge was connected with the most aristocratic families of Venice; the Republic was now extending its empire on *terra firma,* and had to fear the rivalry of the tyrants of the Lombard plain, the Este, Gonzaghi, Scaligeri, and Visconti. It might be the most patriotic course in the pressing dangers of the State to consolidate power into a single hand. Both views are indeed reconcilable. We see in the Republic of Holland that the people were always ready to support the authority of the stadtholders against the oligarchy of the rich merchants. Faliero might believe that he was acting a patriotic part, and that in shaking off the thraldom of the nobles, he was not only true to the history of his country, but was taking the best course to preserve it from imminent danger. These questions will probably never be settled, for the volume of the archives of the Council of Ten, which is said to have contained the full account of Faliero's crime, has been lost beyond recovery.

A patriotic basis.

However this may be, a rising was planned for April 15, 1355. The signal for action was to be the sound of the great bell of St. Mark's, which was never rung except by the express order of the Doge. A cry was to be made that the fleet of Genoa [illegible] fo[illegible] nobles were to [illegible] n; the ntered

The signal for action.

the square of St. Mark. Amid shouts of *Viva il popolo!* Marino Faliero was to be proclaimed *principe*. The plot was revealed the day before that fixed for its execution by one Bertrando of Bergamo, who was not in the conspiracy, but had been ordered to execute some minor portion of the plan. He told what he knew to Niccolò Lioni, one of the Council of Ten, who immediately informed the Doge. There was no suspicion that the Doge himself was concerned in the plot, but Faliero showed very little presence of mind. He disputed some of the evidence, said that he already knew other parts of it, and gradually inspired Lioni with a suspicion that he did not before possess. The conspirators were arrested in their houses, and guards were posted to prevent the ringing of the great bell of Saint Mark. The conspirators, when put to the torture, all accused the Doge of complicity in the scheme, and he did not deny his guilt. The Council of Ten did not dare to try him by themselves, but summoned twenty nobles to act with them, forming a body which was afterward made permanent under the name of Giunta or Zonta. Faliero was condemned to death, and was executed on April 17, 1355, in the courtyard of the palace. The gates communicating with the square of St. Mark were closed for fear of a rising among the people. But immediately after the execution one of the Council of Ten appeared on the balcony

Execution of the Doge.

of the palace, holding the blood-stained sword which had just done its work. The gates were thrown open, and the people saw the head of the traitor rolling in its blood. In the great hall of the ducal palace, where the portraits of the long line of doges form a cornice below the roof, there is a single gap. A black curtain covers the space where a portrait should be, and on it is written, "Locus Marini Falieri decapitati pro criminibus." Such is the story of the victim whom Byron has immortalized. Whatever judgment we pass on his enterprise, its failure had the effect of riveting more closely on doge and people the fetters of a narrow and suspicious oligarchy. Conspiracy rarely succeeds, and is never justified except by success.

[In 1356, Edward the Black Prince defeated the French at Poitiers and took their king prisoner. This disaster was followed by insurrection in Paris, headed by Marcel.]

THE JACQUERIE

(A.D. 1358)

HENRI MARTIN

WHAT the inhabitants of the country had endured for two years surpassed the measure of human misery: the nobility had visited upon their subjects all the brunt of the disaster at Poitiers, and had only kept the shame of it for themselves. One can imagine what might be the great tax upon the feudal lands of many thousands of ransoms; the nobles could not, nor did they wish to, borrow from the Lombards, or Jews, at that time proscribed and scattered; whosoever had money would rather bury it than lend it; to sell their lands in sum or in part was not practicable either; that mass of fiefs, even at a low price, would not find purchasers; the peasant paid for everything. Each lord drew from his free peasants as much aid as possible; as for the serfs, at the mercy of taxation, the whip, the dungeon, and torture were useful in extorting from their very bodies their last penny; their complaints were replied to by blows and gibes; "Jacques

Sufferings of the peasantry.

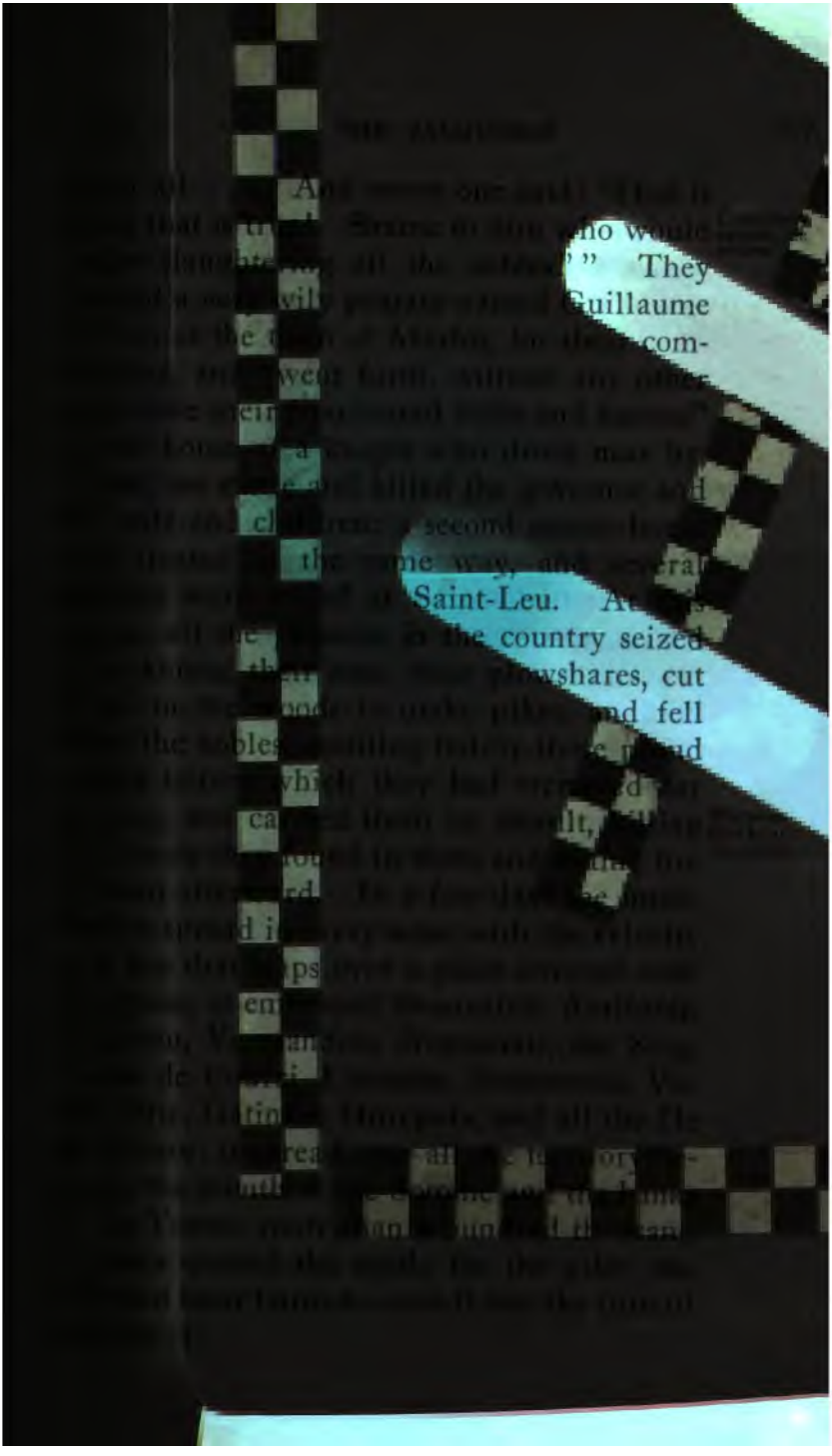
Bonhomme," as the soldiers called the peasant, "Jacques Bonhomme has a good back, he stands everything!" He would still have suffered everything, being so well accustomed to it, if he had been allowed to breathe again and to get back to work; but after the lords came the brigands: Jacques Bonhomme had scarcely delivered to his master the humble savings accumulated during two or three generations, when companies arrived to empty his stable, to carry away from his barn the little that the lord had left, and, in their turn, to leave behind them rape, murder and conflagration, while the lord, from the security of his well-fortified and well-provisioned manor-house, looked with tranquillity upon the peasant's burning cabin without deigning to draw a bolt upon the brigands,—gentlemen most of them, and perhaps, indeed, his relatives. After having seen his daughter outraged and his son massacred, Jacques Bonhomme, famished and bleeding, issued from the ruins of his hut.

Jacques Bonhomme.

On the 28th of May several "*menues gens*"* of Saint-Leu de Cérent (or Essérent), Nointel, Cramoisi, and several other villages of Beauvaisis and the environs of Clermont, assembled and agreed that all the nobles of France, knights and squires, "*honnissoient* [shamed] and betrayed the kingdom, and that it would be a very good thing to destroy

The rising.

* Common people.



Stupefaction of the nobility.

The nobility was stupefied: beasts of prey would not have been more astonished if the flocks which they are accustomed to tear to pieces without resistance should suddenly turn upon them with fury. Scarcely any of the nobles tried to defend themselves: the most illustrious families fled ten or twenty leagues away when the approach of the Jacques was noted and saw behind them ramparts and dungeons crumbling in the whirlwind of flames: more than sixty fortresses and "bonnes maisons" were destroyed in Beauvaisis, Amiénois and Santerre; more than a hundred in Valois and the dioceses of Laon, Noyon and Soissons, without counting those destroyed in Bris, in the environs of Senlis and in the other districts of the Ile de France and in Champagne. All the castles of the house of Montmorenci were razed. The Duchess of Orleans had barely time to escape from Beaumont-sur-Oise, which was sacked immediately after her flight; she sought shelter at Meaux, to which the Duchess of Normandy and more than three hundred noble ladies and girls had retired "in fear of being outraged and subsequently murdered by these wicked people," says Froissart. They could hope for no mercy; no insurrection of modern times had such a terrible and atrocious character. The Jacques possessed no longer the religious exaltation of the shepherds; they waited no longer for the Holy Spirit and the reign of Justice; they fought so

Flight of noble ladies

as to return torture for torture, outrage for outrage, so as to empty out in a few days that horrible store of hatred and vengeance that had been transmitted from age to age by the generations that had died upon the land. The scenes during the revolt of the blacks at San Domingo can alone give an idea of what passed in the castles invaded by the Jacques. They even killed little children "who had not yet done any evil," says the continuator of Nangis.

The peasants show no mercy.

Despite the excesses and cruelties of the Jacques, the middle class party could not resist profiting by such a diversion, and many "rich men," on the spur of the moment, mingled in the Jacquerie to endeavor to moderate and direct it. Marcel resolutely tried both: he sent three hundred Parisians to help the Jacques take the strong Château d'Ermenonville: they did not cut the throats of the people they found there; but they forced them to renounce gentilesse and nobility: thus says Robert de Lorris, King John's chamberlain, one of the seven grand officers later denounced by the State. That band of Jacques, having, however, begun again massacres elsewhere, the Parisian detachment separated itself, and, on Marcel's order, traversed the country throughout to publish that "on pain of losing his head, no one, unless he wished to make himself enemy of the good city of Paris, should kill the wives or children of gentle-

Stephen Marcel sends aid to the Jacques.

men, nor pillage, burn, or destroy houses belonging to them." Paris offered an asylum to such noble families as were not notoriously identified with the party that wished ill to the people. But, at the same time, Marcel continued to negotiate with the leaders of the Jacques.

The peasants, on the other hand, felt the necessity of allying themselves with the bourgeois; they went to Compiègne, a royalist town, which shut its gates to them, but they were received in Senlis: they were masters of all the flat country from Paris to Noyon, Soissons and Laon; "and there were," the *Chronique de Saint Denis* says—"there were very few towns or cities in France that were not moved against the nobles, whether in sympathy with Paris or with the peasants." The common people of the cities sympathized everywhere with the Parisians, and even with the Jacques: a success of some importance had gained over all the municipal corps that still hesitated. Marcel, who wanted to repress a plot formed to introduce the soldiers of the regent into Paris, resolved to make an attack upon Meaux: the regent had surrounded, with very strong walls, the market of that town, situated on an island formed by the Marne and the canal of the Cornillon, and had converted it into his stronghold. The attack was solicited by the inhabitants of Meaux themselves, who did not dare alone to rise up

Peasants command the country.

The attack upon Meaux.

against the garrison of the Market, the insolence of which had reached the extreme. Jean Vaillant, provost of the mint, went to Silli in Mulcien to place himself at the head of a band of Jacques, and advanced from there upon Meaux; the peasants of Valois and Brie hastened from all directions to join him on the way; beneath the ramparts of Meaux he joined several hundreds of Parisians led by the grocer, Pierre Gilles. Jean Soulas, the mayor and the middle class of Meaux immediately opened the gates of the city to them, into which nine or ten thousand furious peasants precipitated themselves; the people of Meaux placed tables and cloths in the streets, and made this famished multitude eat and drink liberally, and then attack the Market.

Meaux opens its gates.

They knew in Paris that the regent had left for Montereau and Sens, and they believed the garrison of Meaux to be weak enough at this moment: Marcel had thought that the Jacques would suffice to carry the fortress with a bold attack and had sent only a feeble aid from Paris. This mistake cost a great deal: an unexpected relief had reached the garrison; Gaston Phœbus, Count of Foix, one of the most brilliant knights of Christendom, and the Captal de Buch, an Anglo-Gascon lord, returning from warring against the Prussian pagans, had heard at Châlons rils that menaced the noble ladies refuge at Meaux, and ran

Bravery of Gaston Phœbus and the Captal Buch.

to offer the services of sixty valiant lances. The gentlemen of the garrison, excited by the danger to the ladies and the presence of these renowned knights, did not wait for an attack, but opened the gate of the Market and impetuously charged the peasants, "who were black and little and very badly armed," says Froissart. These unhappy men, half-naked, misshapen, and more than half famished, could not withstand the shock of men who were robust, skilful and protected with almost impenetrable armor: they killed several knights, however; but they were very soon overthrown, and completely put to rout; "the soldiers cut them to pieces, and killed those they had left whole by making them jump into the river of Marne. They put an end to more than seven thousand" (Froissart). The victors, crossing the bridge pell-mell with the fugitives, rushed upon the town "like furies," massacred or took as prisoners all the bourgeois that they could seize, pillaged the houses and the churches, and started a fire in Meaux that burned fifteen days. The town was very nearly destroyed: the faubourg had been burned during the attack, and the inhabitants who wished to flee had been driven into the flames at the lance point. The Mayor, Jean Soulas, who was among the prisoners, was hanged (June 9).

The Jacquerie overthrown

This first combat was decisive against the Jacquerie; the nobles, recovering from their

first fright, armed on every side and called to their aid all their relatives and friends in the Low Countries; they immediately took again the offensive and imitated everywhere, as best they could, the example of the garrison of Meaux, which, after its bloody victory, set itself the task of rushing through the country, burning the villages, and cutting the throats of all the peasants that fell into its hands. The paroxysm of fury which had transported the peasants began to give place to discouragement and fright: the chief of the Jacquerie de Beauvoisin, Guillaume Callet, who was called the King of the Jacques, tried to treat with the King of Navarre; but Charles the Bad feared if he accepted such an alliance that he would place himself under a ban with the nobility; two of the relatives of the Sire de Picquini, the most considerable of his partisans, had, moreover, been put to death by the Jacques. Charles of Navarre gave courteous speech to the "King of the Jacques" and to his principal adherents, who repaired to Clermont upon the invitation of the Navarrois; but the bourgeois of Clermont arrested the chiefs of the peasants and delivered them to the Navarrois, who cut off their heads. A contemporary author pretends that he crowned Guillaume Callet with a trivet of red-hot iron. After this execution, the King of Navarre, accompanied by the Count of Saint-Pol, went to crush, unawares, a body of

Guillaume Callet tries to treat with the King of Navarre.

Behavior of Charles of Navarre.

insurgent peasants encamped near Montdidier, and killed three thousand and scattered the rest.

The regent and his soldiers, between the Seine and the Marne, and the Sire Enguerrand de Couci, between the Oise and the Aisne, likewise destroyed numerous bands of the Jacques. The nobles and their auxiliaries that had come from every side, gave chase to the peasants, as the latter had done to the nobles: they found them; more than twenty thouants and serfs, "guilty or not," in the houses, in the fields, in the vineyards, wherever they found them; more than twenty thousand had perished before Saint-John's Day, and the carnage continued for long afterward. Entire cantons were nearly depopulated. "Such great evil had been done by the nobles of France, that there was no need for the English to destroy the country; for, in truth, the English, enemies of the kingdom, could not have done what the native nobles had done."

Numerous bands of Jacques destroyed.

Such was the annihilation of that great insurrection of the peasants of three provinces (Ile de France, Picardie, and Champagne), which a single victory had propagated throughout France: the Jacques were destroyed, the bourgeois democracy enfeebled and shaken, the nobility revived and heated by the blood spilled and by easy success. The result of the Jacquerie was to give an army to

Through the Jacquerie France gained a standing army.

the regent; the nobility, once aroused, kept under arms, and the regent was soon in a position to plant his camp in Paris.

[The English again invade and ravage France; but in 1360, the Peace of Bretigny gave liberty to the French King in return for ransom and cession of territory. In 1362, Pedro the Cruel, of Castile, lost his throne, and the Black Prince marched into Spain to restore him. In 1381, the English peasants rebelled under Wat Tyler. In 1387, all the Lithuanians, the last European pagans, were baptized.] A.D. 1360-1387.

COSMO DE' MEDICI

(A.D. 1389–1464)

WILLIAM ROSCOE

THE family of the Medici had for many ages been esteemed one of the most considerable in the republic; nor have there been wanting authors who have derived its eminence from the age of Charlemagne: but it must be remembered that these genealogies have been the production of subsequent times, when the elevation of this family to the supreme command in Florence made it necessary to impress on the minds of the people an idea of its antiquity and respectability. It appears, however, from authentic monuments, that many individuals of this family had signalized themselves on important occasions. Giovanni de' Medici, in the year 1351, with a body of only one hundred Florentines, forced his way through the Milanese army, then besieging the fortress of Scarperia, and entered the place with the loss of twenty lives.

Antiquity of the Medici family.

Salvestro de' Medici acquired great reputation by his temperate but firm resistance to the tyranny of the nobles, who, in order to secure

their power, accused those who opposed them of being attached to the party of the Ghibellines, then in great odium at Florence. The persons so accused were said to be admonished, *ammoniti,* and by that act were excluded from all offices of government. This custom was at length carried to such an extreme as to become insufferable. In the year 1379, Salvestro, being chosen chief magistrate, exerted his power in reforming this abuse; which was not, however, effected without a violent commotion, in which several of the nobility lost their lives. After the death of Salvestro, his son, Veri de' Medici, continued to hold a high rank in the republic, and, like the rest of this family, was always in great favor with the populace.

The person, however, who may be said to have laid the foundation of that greatness which his posterity enjoyed for several ages, was Giovanni de' Medici, the great grandfather of Lorenzo. By a strict attention to commerce, he acquired immense wealth; by his affability, moderation, and liberality, he ensured the confidence and esteem of his fellow-citizens. Without seeking after the offices of the republic, he was honored with them all. The maxims, which, uniformly pursued, raised the house of Medici to the splendor which it afterward enjoyed, are to be found in the charge given by this venerable old man on his deathbed to his two sons, Cosmo and Lo-

Giovanni de' Medici.

renzo: "I feel," said he, "that I have lived the time prescribed me. I die content; leaving you, my sons, in affluence and in health, and in such a station, that while you follow my example, you may live in your native place, honored and respected. Nothing affords me more pleasure than the reflection that my conduct has not given offence to any one; but that, on the contrary, I have endeavored to serve all persons to the best of my abilities. I advise you to do the same. With respect to the honors of the State, if you would live with security, accept only such as are bestowed on you by the laws, and the favor of your fellow-citizens; for it is the exercise of that power which is obtained by violence, and not of that which is voluntarily given, that occasions hatred and contention." He died in the year 1428, leaving two sons, Cosmo, born in the year 1389, and Lorenzo, in 1394, from the latter of whom is derived the collateral branch of the family, which in the beginning of the Sixteenth Century obtained the absolute sovereignty of Tuscany.

Giovanni's charge to his sons.

Even in the lifetime of his father, Cosmo had engaged himself deeply, not only in the extensive commerce by which the family had acquired its wealth, but in the weightier concerns of government. Such was his authority and reputation, that in the year 1414, when Balthasar Cossa, who had been elected Pope, and had assumed the name of John XXIII.,

Cosmo's reputation.

was summoned to attend the Council of Constance, he chose to be accompanied by Cosmo de' Medici, among other men of eminence whose characters might countenance his cause. By this council, which continued nearly four years, Balthasar was deprived of his pontifical dignity, and Otto Colonna, who took the name of Martin V., was elected Pope. Divested of his authority, and pursued by his numerous adversaries, Balthasar endeavored to save himself by flight. Cosmo did not desert in adversity the man to whom he had attached himself in prosperity. At the expense of a large sum of money he redeemed him from the hands of the Duke of Bavaria, who had seized upon his person; and afterward gave him a hospitable shelter at Florence during the remainder of his life. Nor did the successful Pontiff resent the kindness shown to his rival; on the contrary, he soon afterward paid a public visit to Florence, where, on the formal submission of Balthasar, and at the request of the Medici, he created him a cardinal, with the privilege of taking the first place in the Sacred College. The new-made Cardinal did not long survive this honor. He died in the year 1419, and it was supposed that the Medici at his death possessed themselves of immense riches, which he had acquired during his pontificate. This notion was afterward encouraged, for malevolent purposes, by those who well knew its falsehood. The true

Deposition of John XXIII

Source of the Medici wealth.

source of the wealth of the Medici was their superior talents and application to commerce. The property of the Cardinal was scarcely sufficient to discharge his legacies and his debts.

Cosmo's conduct.

After the death of Giovanni de' Medici, Cosmo supported and increased the family dignity. His conduct was uniformly marked by urbanity and kindness to the superior ranks of his fellow-citizens, and by a constant attention to the interest and the wants of the lower class, whom he relieved with unbounded generosity. By these means he acquired numerous and zealous partisans of every denomination; but he rather considered them as pledges for the continuance of the power he possessed, than as instruments to be employed in extending it to the ruin and subjugation of the State. "No family," says Voltaire, "ever obtained its power by so just a title."

Nature of the Medici authority.

The authority which Cosmo and his descendants exercised in Florence during the Fifteenth Century was of a very peculiar nature; and consisted rather in a tacit influence on their part, and a voluntary acquiescence on that of the people, than in any prescribed or definite compact between them. The form of government was ostensibly a republic, and was directed by a council of ten citizens, and a chief executive officer called the Gonfaloniere, or standard-bearer, who was chosen every two months. Under this establishment the citizens imagined they enjoyed the full exercise

of their liberties; but such was the power of the Medici, that they generally either assumed to themselves the first offices of the State, or nominated such persons as they thought proper to those employments. In this, however, they paid great respect to popular opinion. That opposition of interests so generally apparent between the people and their rulers, was at this time scarcely perceived at Florence, where superior qualifications and industry were the surest recommendations to public authority and favor. Convinced of the benefits constantly received from this family, and satisfied that they could at any time withdraw themselves from a connection that exacted no engagements, and required only a temporary acquiescence, the Florentines considered the Medici as the fathers, and not as the rulers, of the republic. On the other hand, the chiefs of this house, by appearing rather to decline than to court the honors bestowed on them, and by a singular moderation in the use of them when obtained, were careful to maintain the character of simple citizens of Florence, and servants of the State. An interchange of reciprocal good offices was the only tie by which the Florentines and the Medici were bound, and perhaps the long continuance of this connection may be attributed to the very circumstance of its having been in the power of either of the parties, at any time, to dissolve it.

Fathers, not rulers, of the Republic.

Cosmo's great abilities.

If, from considering the private character of Cosmo, we attend to his conduct as the moderator and director of the Florentine Republic, our admiration of his abilities will increase with the extent of the theatre upon which he had to act. So important were his mercantile concerns, that they often influenced, in a very remarkable degree, the politics of Italy. When Alfonso, King of Naples, leagued with the Venetians against Florence, Cosmo called in such immense debts from those places as deprived them of resources for carrying on the war. During the contest between the Houses of York and Lancaster, one of his agents in England was resorted to by Edward IV. for a sum of money, which was accordingly furnished, to such an extraordinary amount, that it might almost be considered as the means of supporting that monarch on the throne, and was repaid when his successes enabled him to fulfil his engagement. The alliance of Cosmo was sedulously courted by the princes of Italy; and it was remarked that, by a happy kind of fatality, whoever united their interest with his were always enabled either to repress or to overcome their adversaries. By his assistance the Republic of Venice resisted the united attacks of Filippo, Duke of Milan, and of the French nation, but when deprived of his support, the Venetians were no longer able to withstand their enemies. With whatever difficulties Cosmo had to encounter, at home or

His vast resources.

abroad, they generally terminated in the acquisition of additional honor to his country and to himself. The esteem and gratitude of his fellow-citizens were fully shown a short time before his death, when by a public decree he was honored with the title of *Pater Patriae,* an appellation which was inscribed on his tomb, and which, as it was founded on real merit, has ever since been attached to the name of Cosmo de' Medici.

Cosmo is called Pater Patriæ.

THE INVASION OF TAMERLANE

(A.D. 1397)

MAHUMMUD CASIM FERISHTA

AMIR TIMUR, being informed of the commotions and civil wars of Hindostan, began his expedition into that country, in the eight hundredth year of the Higerah, and on the twelfth of Mohirrim in the following year arrived on the banks of the Chule Jallali.* He immediately despatched Amir Shech Noor ul Dien to dispossess Shab ul Dien Mubarick, who had in charge the defence of the frontier districts. When Shech Noor ul Dien had arrived within a few miles of Shab ul Dien Mubarick, he summoned him to submit to Timur. But as the imperial general had previously retreated into a stronghold, on the bank of the river, round which he had drawn a ditch, forming the place into an island, he determined to defend himself to the last.

Tamerlane invades Hindostan, 1397.

Shech Noor ul Dien, however, found means, upon making his approaches, to fill up the ditch: but at night he suffered a considerable

* A river on the frontiers of Hindostan.

loss, by a violent sally of the besieged; whom, in the end, he repulsed, and forced to take shelter within their walls. Amir Timur himself advanced against the enemy with his whole army. Shab ul Dien, intimidated by the approach of Timur, stowed privately, in forty boats, his treasure and family, and fell down the river, being two days pursued in vain by Shech Noor ul Dien, who was detached with a party after him. The garrison, after the departure of their leader, immediately surrendered.

Tamerlane lays Tulmubini under contribution.

Amir Timur proceeded down the river to the conflux of the Jimboo and Chinab, where there was a strong fort and town, known by the name of Tulmubini. He ordered a bridge to be laid across, by which his army might pass. Having pitched his camp without the town, he laid it under a heavy contribution. But while the inhabitants were very busy in collecting the sum demanded, a complaint was made in the camp of the scarcity of provisions, and orders were issued to seize grain wherever it should be found. The soldiers upon this hastened to search the town, but not being content to take provisions alone, the natural consequence was that a general plunder ensued. The inhabitants, endeavoring to oppose this outrage, were massacred without mercy.

The inhabitants massacred.

To besiege the citadel would but retard the desig of Timur. He therefore marched, the n y after the massacre, to a town

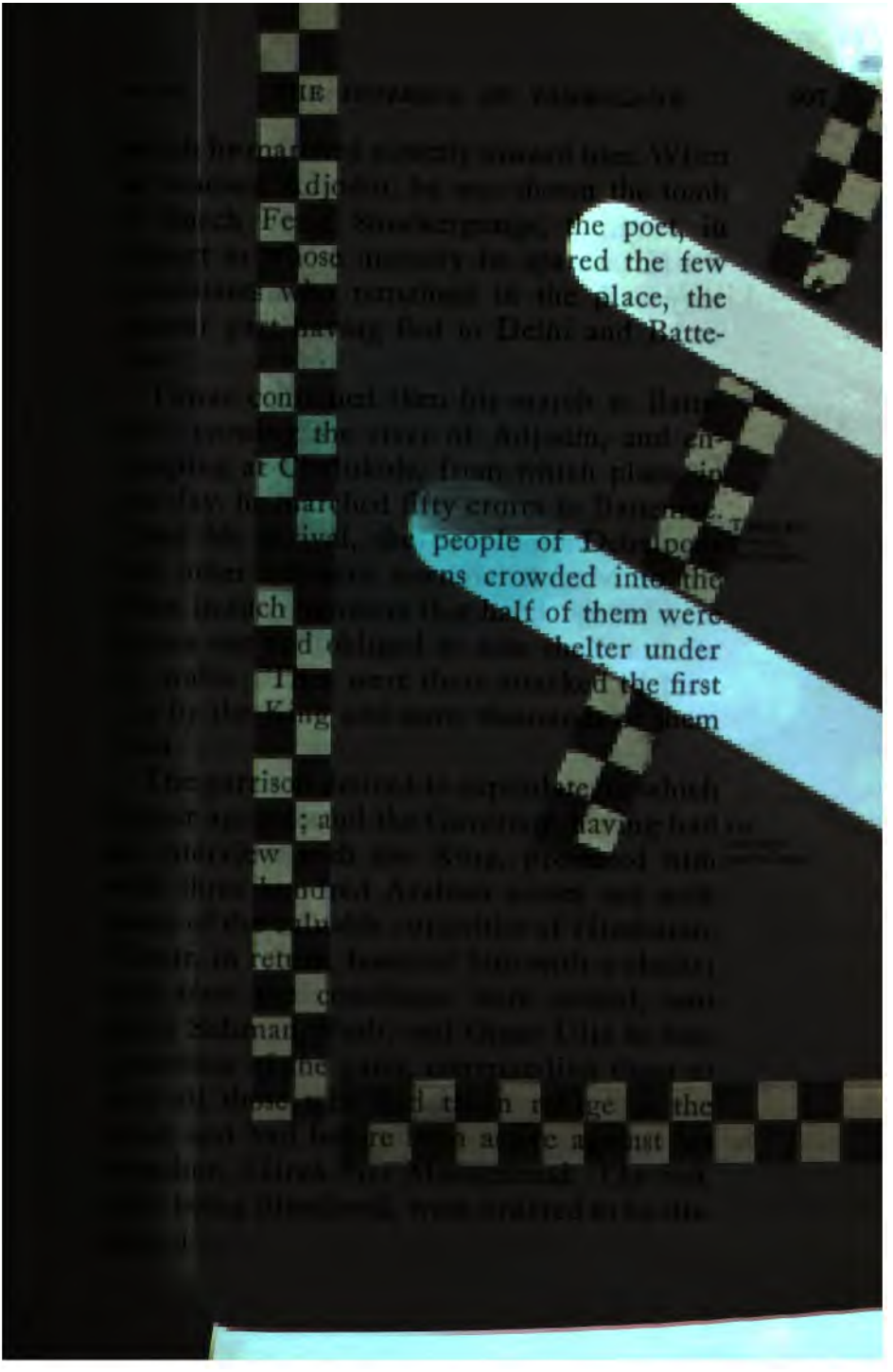
called Shawnawaze, where he found more grain than was sufficient to serve his whole army. He therefore ordered that what could not be carried away should be burned, having previously cut off Jisserit, the brother of Shuha Giker, who had attempted to defend the place with two thousand men. Timur marched, on the third day, from Shawnawaze, and, crossing the Bea, came into a rich and plentiful country.

Shawnawaze pillaged.

It may not be improper here to say something concerning the proceedings of Mirza Pier Mahummud, after his having taken Moultan. The solstitial rains having destroyed a great part of his cavalry in the field, he was under the necessity of drawing his army into the city of Moultan. There he was driven to the utmost distress by the inhabitants of the country, who had closely invested him. His cavalry, instead of being able to act against them, diminished daily in their numbers, for want of forage.

Mirza Pier Mahummud is blockaded in Moultan.

In this untoward situation were the affairs of that Prince, when his grandfather, Amir Timur, entered Hindostan, who immediately reinforced Mahummud with a detachment of thirty thousand chosen horse, and soon joined him with his whole army. The Prince carried in his mind great animosity against the Governor of Battenize, who had chiefly distressed him. Amir Timur himself, to chastise the Governor, selected ten thousand horse, with



In consequence of this inhuman order, five hundred persons in a few minutes were put to death. Those who remained still within the fort were so struck with this massacre that they set fire to the place, murdered their wives and children, and, in mere despair, sought after nothing but revenge and death. The scene now became terrible indeed! but the unfortunate inhabitants were, in the end, cut off to a man; they, however, revenged themselves amply upon the rapacious and inhuman authors of their distress, some thousands of the Moguls having fallen by their hands.

Desolation by fire and sword.

This so much exasperated Amir Timur, that firebrand of the world, that he ordered every soul in Battenize to be massacred and to reduce the city itself to ashes.

Timur, marching to Surusti, put the inhabitants of that place, also, to the sword, and gave the town up to pillage. Advancing to Fatteabad, he continued the same scene of barbarity through that and the adjacent towns of Rahib, Amirani, and Jonah. He detached Hakîm Agherâck toward Sammana with five thousand horse, and with the few that remained he himself scoured the country and cut off a tribe

The Jits exterminated.

of banditti called Jits, who had lived for some years by rapine. His army, in the meantime, being divided under different chiefs, carried fire and sword through all the provinces of Moultan and Lahore, but when they advanced near the capital, he ordered a general ren-

dezvous at Keitil, a town within five crores of Sammana.

Timur himself soon joined his army, and, having regulated the order of his march, advanced toward Delhi. When he reached Panniput, he ordered his soldiers to put on their fighting apparel;* and that he might be the better supplied with forage, crossed the Jumna, took the fort of Lowni by assault, and put the garrison to the sword. He then marched down along the river, and encamped opposite to the citadel of Delhi, posting guards to prevent all communication. He immediately detached Amir Soliman Shaw and Amir Jehan Shaw to scour the country behind him to the south and southeast of the city; while he himself that very day, with seven hundred horse only, crossed the river to reconnoitre the citadel.

Tamerlane arrives before Delhi.

Mahmood Shaw and Mullu Eckbal Chan, seeing so few in the retinue of Timur, issued forth with five thousand foot and twenty-seven elephants against him. Mahummud Sillif, an Omrah of repute in Delhi, who led the attack, was repulsed and taken prisoner by the Moguls. Timur ordered him to be immediately beheaded, and after having made the observations which he designed, repassed the river and joined the army.

He is attacked.

He next morning moved his camp more to the eastward, where he was told, by the princes

* Coats stuffed thick with cotton, worn instead of armor.

and generals of his army, that there were then above one hundred thousand prisoners in his camp, who had been taken since he crossed the Sind; that these unfortunate persons had, the day before, expressed great joy when they saw him attacked before the citadel; which rendered it extremely probable that, on a day of battle, they would join with their countrymen against him. The inhuman Timur, who might have found other means of prevention, gave orders to put all above the age of fifteen to the sword, so that, upon that horrid day, one hundred thousand men were massacred in cold blood. This barbarity, together with his other actions of equal cruelty, gained him the name of Hillâk Chan, or the Destroying Prince.

He massacres 100,000 prisoners in cold blood.

Upon the fifth of Jemmad ul Awil, Timur forded the river with his army without opposition and encamped on the plains of Firoseabad, where he intrenched himself, filling the ditch with buffaloes fronting the enemy, whom he fastened with ropes and pickets to their stations, placing, at the same time, strong guards, at proper distances, behind them.

Tamerlane crosses the Jumna.

Though the astrologers pronounced the seventh an unlucky day, the King marched out of his lines and drew up his army in order of battle. Sultan Mahmood and Mullu Eckbal Chan, with the army of Delhi and one hundred and twenty elephants in mail, advanced toward him. But upon the very first charge

of a squadron, called the Heroes of Chighitta, the elephant-drivers were dismounted, and the outrageous animals, deprived of their guides, ran roaring back and spread terror and confusion among their own ranks. The veteran troops of Timur, who had already conquered half the world, improved this advantage, and the degenerate Hindoos were, in a few minutes, totally routed, without making one brave effort for their country, lives and fortunes. The conqueror pursued them with great slaughter to the very gates of Delhi, near which he fixed his quarters.

Tamerlane gains a great victory.

The consternation of the fugitives was so great that, not trusting to their walls, Sultan Mahmood and Mullu Eckbal Chan deserted, in the night, their capital; the former flying to Guzerat, the latter taking the route of Berren. Timur, having intelligence of their flight, detached parties after them, one of which, coming up with Sultan Mahmood, killed a great number of his retinue, and took his two infant sons, Seif ul Dien and Choda Daad, prisoners. Timur received the submission of all the great men of the city, who crowded to his camp, and were promised protection upon paying great contributions; and, upon the Friday following, he ordered the Chutba in all the mosques to be read in his own name. Upon the sixteenth of the same month, he placed guards at the gates, and appointed the scriveners of the city and magistrates to regulate

The Sultan flees.

the contribution according to the wealth and rank of the inhabitants. Information was, in the meantime, lodged, that several omrahs and rich men had shut themselves up in their houses, with their dependants, and refused to pay down their share of the ransom. This obliged Timur Shaw to send troops into the city, to enforce the authority of the magistrates. A general confusion, uproar, and plundering immediately followed, which could not be restrained by the Mogul officers, who, at the same time, durst not acquaint the King that their authority was contemned by the troops.

Disorder and pillage.

Timur was then busy in his camp, in celebrating a grand festival on account of his victory, so that it was five days before he received any intelligence of these proceedings. The first notice he had of them was by the flames of the city; for the Hindoos, according to their manner, seeing their wives and daughters ravished and polluted, their wealth seized by the hand of rapine, and they themselves beat and abused, at length, by one consent, shut the city gates, set fire to their houses, murdered their wives and children, and ran out like madmen against their enemies.

But little effect had the despair of the unfortunate upon the Moguls, who soon collected themselves and began a general massacre. Some streets were rendered impassable by the heaps of dead; and, in the meantime, the gates

being forced, the whole Mogul army were admitted. Then followed a scene of horror, much easier to be imagined than described. A general massacre.

The desperate courage of the unfortunate Delhians was at length cooled in their own blood. They threw down their weapons, they submitted themselves like sheep to the slaughter. They permitted one man to drive a hundred of them prisoners before him; so that we may plainly perceive that cowardice is the mother of despair. In the city, the Hindoos were, at least, ten to one, superior in number to the enemy, and had they possessed souls it would have been impossible for the Moguls, who were scattered about in every street, house and corner, laden with plunder, to have resisted the dreadful assault. But though the Hindoos had the savage resolution of imbruing their hands in the blood of their wives and children, we find them still the slaves of fear, and shrinking at the approach of that death which they could so readily execute upon others. The unparalleled misfortunes of the Delhians.

The King, after this horrid scene, entered the city, taking to himself one hundred and [illegible]ty elephants, twelve rhinoceroses, and a [illegible] of curious animals that had been [illegible] by Firose Shaw. The fine mosque [illegible]hat Prince, upon the stones of which [illegible]cribed the history of his reign, be- masterpiece of architecture and [illegible]h the fancy of the conqueror Tamerlane enters Delhi.

that he ordered stone-cutters and masons from Delhi to Samarcand to build one upon the same plan.

After having stayed fifteen days at Delhi, Timur took a sudden resolution of returning, and he accordingly marched out to Firoseabad, whither Bahadre Nahir sent him two white parrots, as curiosities from Mewat, with professions of subjection. Timur continued his march to the skirts of the mountains of Sewalic, marking his way with fire and sword. Crossing then the Ganges, he subdued the country as high as where the river issues from the mountains; returning from thence, he repassed the river and marched through the hills.

The conqueror marches to the head of the Ganges.

We do not find that Timur appointed any king to govern Hindostan, which he had in a great measure subdued. He, however, confirmed the subas, who had submitted to him in their governments; and, from this circumstance, we may suppose that he intended to retain the Empire in his own name; though he left no troops behind him except a small detachment in Delhi, to secure it from further depredations.

[The Council of Pisa (1409) deposes both Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII.; and, as neither will give way, elects Alexander V. Thus there are three rival Popes.]

COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE AND THE HUSSITE WAR

(A.D. 1414—1437)

SUTHERLAND MENZIES

THE death of Rupert seemed to favor the partisans of Wenceslaus; but the partisans of his house preferred the choice of his brother, Sigismund, King of Hungary. At Frankfort, Sigismund was illegally elected by two only of the seven; while five, who assembled later, gave their suffrages in favor of the Margrave of Moravia, cousin-german of Wenceslaus and Sigismund. Thus Germany had three kings of the Romans, two of whom were resolved to defend their rights with the sword. But the horrors of civil war were averted by the death of the Margrave, whose partisans, combining with those of Sigismund, proceeded to a new election; and Sigismund was unanimously recognized King of the Romans, Wenceslaus himself renouncing his own rights in favor of his brother.

Sigismund, King of Hungary (1410-1437).

Sigismund had given at his election an example of his arrogant character. "There is no prince in the Empire," said he, "with whose

Sigismund's character.

merits I am so fully acquainted as with my own. I am surpassed by none—either in power or in the prudence with which I have ruled, whether in prosperity or adversity. Therefore do I, as Elector of Brandenburg, give my vote to Sigismund, King of Hungary, and will that he be elected King of Germany." Sigismund's character was a combination of the characteristics of his immediate predecessors. Like Charles IV., he was crafty and politic, but resembled Wenceslaus in his love of sensual gratifications. Handsome, eloquent, and lively, he had no steadiness of person, seeming to act on the impulse of the moment, and with a view to present expediency rather than on any settled plan. The first object of his attention was the schism in the Church, there being a Pope in Italy, another in France, and a third in Spain, and each of them launched anathemas against his adversaries and the countries subjected to him. Sigismund, in furtherance of his favorite design, acted at first with sound policy and discretion; he summoned a General Council to meet at Constance, and in order to give its members the character of representatives of all Europe, he proclaimed that not merely the clergy, but distinguished laymen from different countries should assist at its deliberations, the Emperor himself waiving the right of supremacy which the Romano-Germanic Empire had hitherto assumed over other kingdoms, although its

He summons a council.

pretensions were little more than a name. But all these fair plans were ruined by his own want of self-control. During the sitting of the Council, Sigismund gave himself up entirely to low debauchery; and the only effect of his condescension was to make himself the laughing-stock of the Church, and give foreign nations encouragement to encroach still further on the privileges of the Empire.

The place fixed upon for this important assembly of the spiritual and temporal powers of Catholic Europe, in compliance with the wishes of the Emperor, but not in accordance with the interests of the Pope, John XXIII., was Constance in Switzerland; and the day appointed for the meeting was the 1st of November, 1414. The assemblage of ecclesiastics, and also of laymen, on this occasion was immense. The Council was divided into four national sections, of Italy, France, Germany, and England, and the votes were taken according to this division, instead of being registered according to the opinions of individual members of the body. Both the Emperor and John were present. The professed objects of this famous Council were the extinction of the schism, and the reformation of the Church, or the correction of those manifold abuses which existed in the management of ecclesiastical revenues. Here it was determined, after some debate, that a General Council could compel the Pope to abdicate, and the method

The Council of Constance, 1414.

of cession was, moreover, declared to be the only means of securing the peace of the Church. Accordingly, on the 2d of March, 1415, John publicly pronounced his abdication, on condition of a similar proceeding on the part of Benedict and Gregory. Suspicions, however, having been manifested by the Council with regard to the sincerity of the Pontiff in these transactions, the latter planned his escape from Constance, and fled first to Schaffhausen, afterward to Brissac, and at length to Fribourg, where he expected to receive the protection of the Duke of Austria, but was treacherously delivered into the power of the Emperor and the Council. A series of enormous crimes being now laid to his charge, John was solemnly deposed from the Pontificate (May 29, 1415), and condemned to rigorous imprisonment, which he suffered, first at Heidelberg and afterward at Mannheim, for the period of three years. In the course of the same year Gregory sent to the Council a voluntary and solemn resignation of his dignity. Benedict, however, remained inflexible, declaring that he was the true and now the only Pope. Sigismund went in person to Perpignan with a view to obtain his resignation; but Benedict obstinately resisted all solicitations, and ultimately withdrew, for the security of his person, to the small fortress of Paniscola. The Council, fully convinced of his contumacy, proceeded

John XXIII announces his abdication.

Gregory XII. abdicates.

to the sentence of deposition; and although Benedict continued to anathematize his adversaries daily in his obscure place of refuge, he had ceased to be a means of dividing the obedience of the Church. The claims of the late competitors having been thus entirely destroyed, the Cardinals proceeded to the election of a new Pope, and agreed in the choice of Otto de Colonna, a Roman, who ascended the Papal Chair under the name of Martin V. And thus the primary object of the Council, the healing of the Great Schism, which had long been productive of such numerous disorders, was successfully accomplished. Gregory XII. died soon after his cession. John XXIII., restored to liberty about three years after his deposition, was solicited by some of his friends to resume the Papal dignity, but instead of complying with their advice, he voluntarily threw himself at the feet of Martin, who received his submission. And thus the Great Western Schism was completely at an end.

Martin V. is elected.

End of the Great Schism.

The spiritual business of the Council of Constance was no less important than its temporal. John Huss, a disciple of Wickliff, and professor in the new university of Prague, founded by Charles IV., was tried for heresy, in opposing the hierarchy, and satirizing the immoralities of the popes and bishops. He did not deny the charge; and, refusing to confess his errors, was burned alive, though he

John Huss and Jerome of Prague, 1416.

had a safe-conduct from the Emperor to appear at the Council. But the principle on which the Council acted was not concealed: it was indeed openly avowed that, in certain cases, faith was not to be kept with heretics. A similar fate was the portion of his friend and disciple, Jerome of Prague, who displayed at his execution the eloquence of an apostle, and the constancy of a martyr. Sigismund felt the consequences of these horrible proceedings; for the Bohemians, justly exasperated at the treacherous execution of their countrymen, opposed his succession to their crown, vacant by the death of his deceased brother Wenceslaus, and it cost him a war of sixteen years to attain it.

Grave consequences for Sigismund.

Whatever was the imperial power at this time, it derived but small consequence from its actual revenues. The wealth of the Germanic states was exclusively possessed by their separate sovereigns, and the Emperor had little more than what he drew from Bohemia and Hungary. The sovereignty of Italy was an empty title. The interest of the Emperor in that country furnished only a source of faction to its princes, and embroiled the states in perpetual quarrels.

War of the Hussites.

The execution of Huss, with all its circumstances of cruelty and falsehood, had been regarded by the Bohemians as a national insult, which called aloud for signal and adequate retribution. When the ashes of the martyr

were thrown into the Rhine, the rulers of the Church believed that his name had perished with his body. But the people thought far otherwise. James Hussinitz, a nobleman residing in the village where Huss was born, determined to avenge his death, and to maintain his doctrines. Wenceslaus, finding himself wholly unable to resist the storm of popular indignation, withdrew from Prague, which soon fell entirely into the hands of the malcontents. Under the command of the leaders of the new doctrines, they proceeded to yet more violent extremities. To revenge some slight offence which had been offered to them in one of their religious processions, they burst into the council chamber at Prague, and, seizing thirteen of the principal magistrates, flung them from the windows upon the pikes of their associates. The intelligence of this outrage roused Wenceslaus to so violent a paroxysm of fury, that it occasioned an apoplectic fit which put an end to his existence.

Death of Wenceslaus, 1418.

The accession of Sigismund, who, notwithstanding a letter addressed to the Bohemians in vindication of his conduct, was universally considered as the cause of Huss's execution, and a promulgation of a degree of the Council of Constance containing a most unqualified denunciation of their sect, wrought the passions of the Hussites to a yet higher state of exasper[illegible] They refused to recognize Sig-

ismund as King, whereupon the Hussite civil war broke out. They were divided into two parties, the more moderate Calixtines and the more rigid Taborites. Ziska, the leader of the latter party, a man of extraordinary powers, assembled them on Mount Tabor, captured Prague, pillaged and burned the monasteries, and in several engagements defeated Sigismund. After the death of Ziska (1424), his place was filled by a monk named Procopius, who defeated the mercenaries sent under the name of Crusaders by the Emperor and the Papal legates in the battles of Mies (1427) and Tachau (1431), and whose troops ravaged Austria, Franconia, Saxony, Catholic Bohemia, Lusatia, and Silesia. A council held at Bâsle, in 1433, made concessions which were accepted by the Calixtines. The Taborites, rejecting the compromise, were vanquished in the battle of Prague (1434), and by the treaty of Iglau (1436), the compromise of Bâsle was accepted by Bohemia, and Sigismund recognized as King.

Sigismund suffers several defeats.

The Council of Basle.

The Emperor, having committed to the Council of Bâsle the task of carrying on negotiations, had withdrawn to Rome on pretext of being crowned by the new Pope, Eugenius IV. The council, led by the spiritual and temporal lords, who were fully aware of the importance of the cause at stake, shared the Emperor's opinion, and were, consequently, far more inclined to make concession than was the

Pope, who refused to yield to any terms, preferring to throw the onus of the peace on others. The Council therefore acted without reference to the Pontiff, who in the meantime amused himself with solemnizing a farcical coronation of the Emperor at Rome. Sigismund remained, during the sitting of the Council, in Italy, engaged in love affairs, although already sixty-three years of age. After openly procrastinating the ceremony, the Pope at length gave full vent to his displeasure (1433) by causing the crown to be placed awry on Sigismund's head by another ecclesiastic, and then pushing it straight with his foot as the Emperor knelt before him.

Coronation of Sigismund.

After long and tedious conferences the Council conceded to the Bohemian laity the use of the cup in the communion, and Sigismund on his side agreed that the Hussite priests should be tolerated, even at court; that no more monasteries should be built; that the University of Prague should be reinstated in all its former privileges; and a general amnesty granted for all past disturbances. Thus peace was concluded in 1437. Bohemia, however, remained still in a feverish state until about a century after, when the reform of Luther revived old feelings and antipathies, of which the Thirty Years' War that, another century later, desolated all Germany, may be said to have been the remote consequence. There are a few Hussites now in Bohemia;

Close of the Council of Constance, 1437.

the rest have merged into Calvinists, Lutherans, Moravians, and other sects.

[Henry V. of England claims the crown of France and resolves on the conquest of that realm (1414).]

BATTLE OF AGINCOURT

(A.D. 1415)

DAVID HUME

THE successes which the arms of England have, in different ages, obtained over those of France, have been much owing to the favorable situation of the former kingdom. The English, happily seated in an island, could make advantage of every misfortune which attended their neighbors, and were little exposed to the danger of reprisals. They never left their own country but when they were conducted by a king of extraordinary genius, or found their enemy divided by intestine factions, or were supported by a powerful alliance on the Continent; and as all these circumstances concurred at present to favor their enterprise, they had reason to expect from it proportionable success. The Duke of Burgundy, expelled France by a combination of the princes, had been secretly soliciting the alliance of England: Henry knew that this Prince, though he first to join the inveterate enemy would willingly, if he saw any

England's advantages

Invasion of France.

probability of success, both assist him with his Flemish subjects, and draw over to the same side all his numerous partisans in France. Trusting therefore to this circumstance, but without establishing any concert with the Duke, he put to sea August 14th, and landed near Harfleur, at the head of an army of 6,000 men-at-arms, and 24,000 foot, mostly archers. He immediately began the siege of that place, which was valiantly defended by D'Estoüteville, and under him by De Guitri, De Gaucourt, and others of the French nobility; but as the garrison was weak, and the fortifications in bad repair, the governor was at last obliged to capitulate; and he promised to surrender the place, if he received no succor before the eighteenth of September. The day came, and there was no appearance of a French army to relieve him.

Capture of Harfleur.

Henry, taking possession of the town, placed a garrison in it, and expelled all the French inhabitants, with an intention of peopling it anew with English.

The fatigues of this siege, and the unusual heat of the season, had so wasted the English army, that Henry could enter on no further enterprise; and was obliged to think of returning into England. He had dismissed his transports, which could not anchor in an open road upon the enemy's coasts: and he lay under a necessity of marching by land to Calais, before he could reach a place of safety. A nu-

merous French army of 14,000 men-at-arms, and 40,000 foot, was by this time assembled in Normandy, under the Constable d'Albert; a force which, if prudently conducted, was sufficient either to trample down the English in the open field, or to harass and reduce to nothing their small army, before they could finish so long and difficult a march. Henry, therefore, cautiously offered to sacrifice his conquest of Harfleur for a safe passage to Calais; but his proposals being rejected, he determined to make his way by valor and conduct through all the opposition of the enemy. That he might not discourage his army by the appearance of flight, or expose them to those hazards which naturally attend precipitate marches, he made slow and deliberate journeys till he reached the Somme, which he purposed to pass at the ford of Blanquetague, the same place where Edward, in a like situation, had before escaped from Philip de Valois. But he found the ford rendered impassable by the precaution of the French general, and guarded by a strong body on the opposite bank; and he was obliged to march higher up the river, in order to seek for a safe passage. He was continually harassed on his march by flying parties of the enemy; saw bodies of troops on the other side, ready to oppose every attempt; his provisions were cut off; his soldiers languished with sickness and fatigue: and his affairs seemed to be reduced to a des-

A French army assembles in Normandy.

Henry's mild terms are rejected

perate situation: when he was so dexterous or so fortunate as to seize by surprise a passage near St. Quintin, which had not been sufficiently guarded; and he safely carried over his army.

He crosses the Somme.

Henry then bent his march northward to Calais; but he was still exposed to great and imminent danger from the enemy, who had also passed the Somme, and threw themselves full in his way, with a purpose of intercepting his retreat. After he had passed the small river of Ternois at Blangi, he was surprised to observe from the heights the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Agincourt, and so posted that it was impossible for him to proceed on his march without coming to an engagement. Nothing in appearance could be more unequal than the battle, upon which his safety and all his fortunes now depended. The English army was little more than half the number which had disembarked at Harfleur; and they labored under every discouragement and necessity. The enemy was four times more numerous; was headed by the Dauphin and all the princes of the blood; and was plentifully supplied with provisions of every kind. Henry's situation was exactly similar to that of Edward at Crecy, and that of the Black Prince at Poictiers; and the memory of these great events, inspiring the English with courage, made them hope for a like deliverance from their present difficul-

Overwhelming force of the French.

ties. The King likewise observed the same prudent conduct which had been followed by these great commanders: he drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods, which guarded each flank; and he patiently expected in that posture the attack of the enemy.

Had the French Constable been able, either to reason justly upon the present circumstances of the two armies, or to profit by past experience, he had declined a combat, and had waited till necessity, obliging the English to advance, had made them relinquish the advantages of their situation. But the impetuous valor of the nobility, and a vain confidence in superior numbers, brought on this fatal action, which proved the source of infinite calamities to their country. The French archers on horseback and their men-at-arms, crowded in their ranks, advanced upon the English archers, who had fixed palisadoes in their front to break the impression of the enemy, and who safely plied them, from behind that defence, with a shower of arrows which nothing could resist. The clay soil, moistened by some rain which had lately fallen, proved another obstacle to the force of the French cavalry: the wounded men and horses discomposed their ranks: the narrow compass in which they were pent hindered them from recovering any order: the whole army was a scene of confusion, terror, and dismay: and

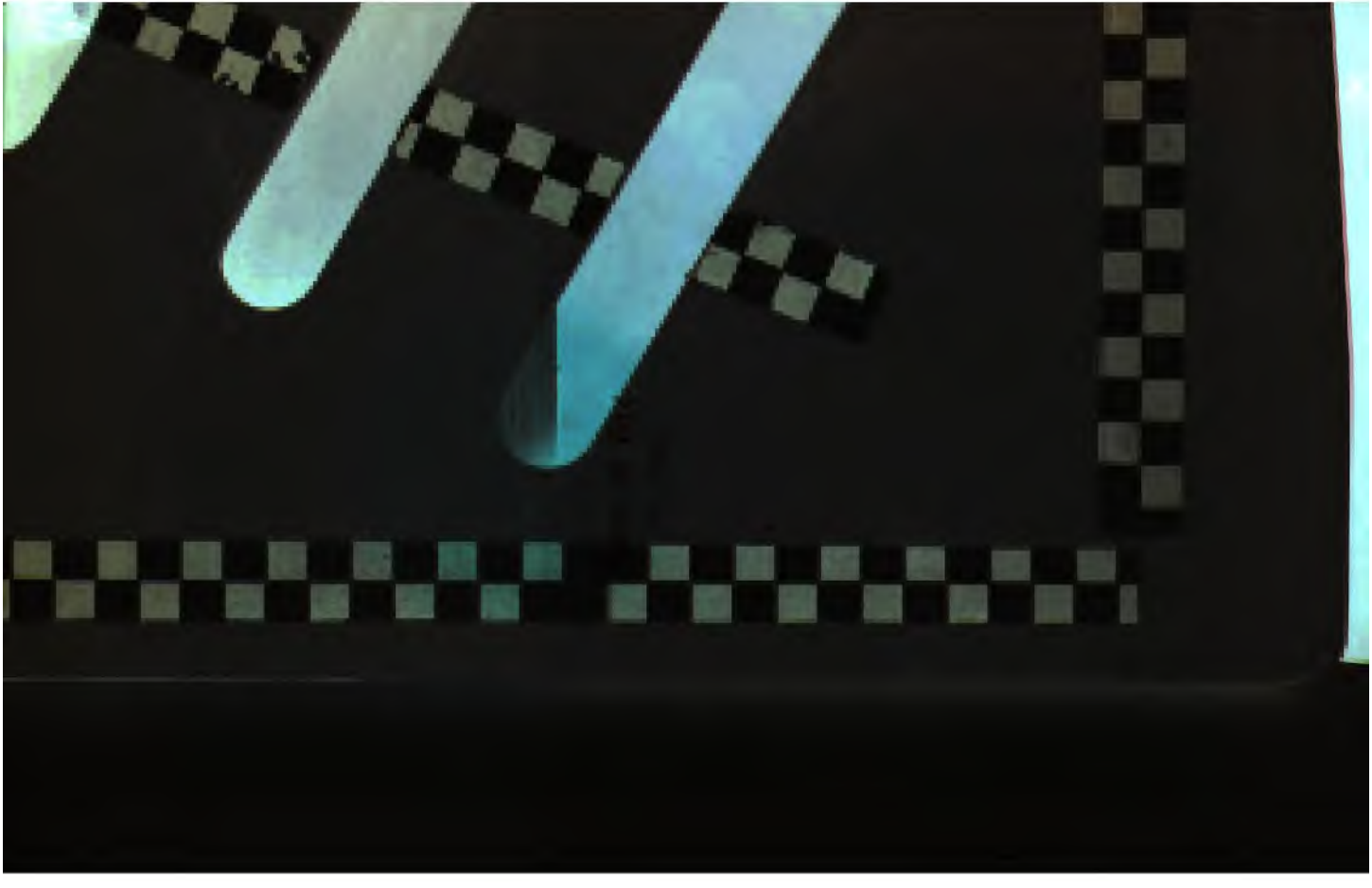
Battle of Agincourt.

Henry, perceiving his advantage, ordered the English archers, who were light and unincumbered, to advance upon the enemy, and seize the moment of victory. They fell with their battle-axes upon the French, who, in their present posture, were incapable either of flying or of making defence: they hewed them in pieces without resistance: and being seconded by the men-at-arms, who also pushed on against the enemy, they covered the field with the killed, wounded, dismounted, and overthrown. After all appearance of opposition was over, the English had leisure to make prisoners; and having advanced with uninterrupted success to the open plain, they there saw the remains of the French rearguard, which still maintained the appearance of a line of battle. At the same time, they heard an alarm from behind: some gentlemen of Picardy, having collected about 600 peasants, had fallen upon the English baggage, and were doing execution on the unarmed followers of the camp, who fled before them. Henry, seeing the enemy on all sides of him, began to entertain apprehensions from his prisoners; and he thought it necessary to issue general orders for putting them to death: but on discovering the truth, he stopped the slaughter, and was still able to save a great number.

Great slaughter by the archers.

The prisoners slain.

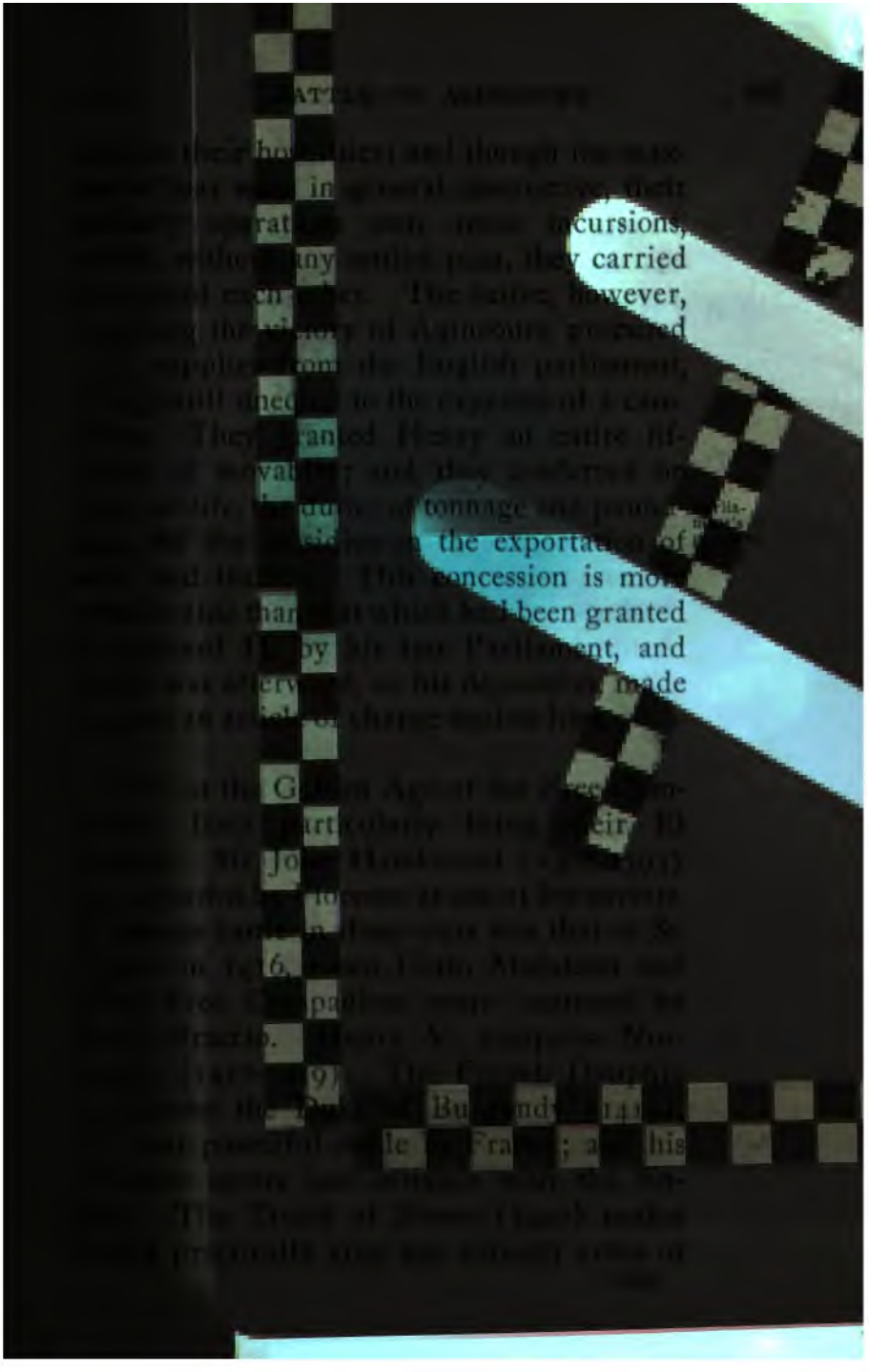
No battle was ever more fatal to France, by the number of princes and illy slain



sake of plunder, had ventured so far into the enemy's country as to leave themselves no retreat; and unless saved by the utmost imprudence in the French commanders, were, from their very situation, exposed to inevitable destruction. But allowance being made for this temerity, which, according to the irregular plans of war followed in those ages, seems to have been, in some measure, unavoidable; there appear, in the day of action, the same presence of mind, dexterity, courage, firmness and precaution on the part of the English; the same precipitation, confusion and vain-confidence on the part of the French: and the events were such as might have been expected from such opposite conduct. The immediate consequences, too, of these three great victories were similar: instead of pushing the French with vigor, and taking advantage of their consternation, the English princes after their victory seem rather to have relaxed their efforts, and to have allowed the enemy leisure to recover from his losses. Henry interrupted not his march a moment after the battle of Agincourt; he carried his prisoners to Calais, thence to England; he even concluded a truce with the enemy; and it was not till after an interval of two years that any body of English troops appeared in France.

Immediate consequences trifling.

The poverty of all the European princes, and the small resources of their kingdoms, were the cause of these continual interrup-



France. On his death, 1422, his son, Henry VI. of England, is proclaimed King of France also. The English Regent, Bedford, defeats the Dauphin's followers at Crevant, 1422, and Verneuil, 1429; and the English lay siege to Orleans in 1429.]

JOAN OF ARC AT ORLEANS

(A.D. 1429)

E. S. CREASY

SELDOM has the extinction of a nation's independence appeared more inevitable than was the case in France when the English invaders completed their lines around Orleans. A series of dreadful defeats had thinned the chivalry of France, and daunted the spirits of her soldiers. A foreign king had been proclaimed in her capital; and foreign armies of the bravest veterans, and led by the ablest captains then known in the world, occupied the fairest portions of her territory. Worse to her, even, than the fierceness and the strength of her foes, were the factions, the vices and the crimes of her own children. Her native prince was a dissolute trifler, stained with assassination of the most powerful noble in the land, whose son, in revenge, had leagued himself with the enemy. Many more of her nobility, many of her prelates, her magistrates, and rulers, had sworn fealty to the English King. The condition of the peasantry amid the general prevalence of anarchy and brigandage, which were added to the custom-

Wretched condition of France.

ary devastations of contending armies, was wretched beyond the power of language to describe. The sense of terror and wretchedness seemed to have extended itself even to the brute creation.

English conquests.

In the autumn of 1428, the English, who were already masters of all France north of the Loire, prepared their forces for the conquest of the southern provinces, which yet adhered to the cause of the Dauphin. The city of Orleans, on the banks of that river, was looked upon as the last stronghold of the French national party. If the English could once obtain possession of it their victorious progress through the residue of the kingdom seemed free from any serious obstacle. Accordingly the Earl of Salisbury, one of the bravest and most experienced of the English generals, who had been trained under Henry V., marched to the attack of the all-important city; and after reducing several places of inferior consequence in the neighborhood, appeared with his army before its walls on the 12th of October, 1428.

Salisbury attacks Orleans.

The city of Orleans itself was on the north side of the Loire, but its suburbs extended far on the southern side, and a strong bridge connected them with the town. A fortification, which in modern military phrase would be termed a tête-du-pont, defended the bridge head on the southern side, and two towers, called the Tourelles, were built on the bridge

itself, at a little distance from the tête-du-pont. Indeed, the solid masonry of the bridge terminated at the Tourelles; and the communication thence with the tête-du-pont and the southern shore was by means of a drawbridge. The Tourelles and the tête-du-pont formed together a strong, fortified post, capable of containing a garrison of considerable strength; and so long as this was in possession of the Orleannais, they could communicate freely with the southern provinces, the inhabitants of which, like the Orleannais themselves, supported the cause of their Dauphin against the foreigners. Lord Salisbury rightly judged the capture of the Tourelles to be the most material step toward the reduction of the city itself. Accordingly, he directed his principal operations against this post, and after some severe repulses, he carried the Tourelles by storm on the 23d of October. The French, however, broke down the arches of the bridge that were nearest to the north bank, and thus rendered a direct assault from the Tourelles upon the city impossible. But the possession of this post enabled the English to distress the town greatly by a battery of cannon which they planted there, and which commanded some of the principal streets.

Fortifications of Orleans.

The Tourelles carried.

Six strongly fortified posts, called bastilles, were formed at certain intervals round the town, and the purpose of the English engineers was to draw strong lines between them.

During the winter little progress was made with the intrenchments, but when the spring of 1429 came, the English resumed their work with activity; the communications between the city and the country became more difficult, and the approach of want began already to be felt in Orleans.

Orleans offers to surrender.

The Orleannais now, in their distress, offered to surrender the city into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy, who, though the ally of the English, was yet one of their native princes. The Regent Bedford refused these terms, and the speedy submission of the city to the English seemed inevitable. The Dauphin Charles, who was now at Chinon with his remnant of a court, despaired of continuing any longer the struggle for his crown, and was only prevented from abandoning the country by the more masculine spirits of his mistress and his queen.

In the village of Domrémy, on the borders of Lorraine, there was a poor peasant of the name of Jacques d'Arc, respected in his station of life, and who had reared a family in virtuous habits and in the practice of the strictest devotion. His eldest daughter was named by her parents Jeannette, but she was called Jeanne by the French, which was Latinized into Johanna and Anglicized into Joan.

Joan of Arc.

At the time when Joan first attracted attention, she was about eighteen years of age. She was naturally of a susceptible disposition,

which diligent attention to the legends of saints and tales of fairies, aided by the dreamy loneliness of her life while tending her father's flocks, had made peculiarly prone to enthusiastic fervor. At the same time, she was eminent for piety and purity of soul, and for her compassionate gentleness to the sick and the distressed.

From infancy to girlhood Joan had heard continually of the woes of the war, and had herself witnessed some of the wretchedness that it caused. A feeling of intense patriotism grew in her with her growth. The deliverance of France from the English was the subject of her reveries by day and her dreams by night. Blended with these aspirations were recollections of the miraculous interpositions of Heaven in favor of the oppressed, which she had learned from the legends of her Church. Her faith was undoubting; her prayers were fervent. "She feared no danger, for she felt no sin," and at length she believed herself to have received the supernatural inspiration which she sought.

Her dreams and aspirations.

"At the age of thirteen, a voice from God came to her to help her in ruling herself, and that voice came to her about the hour of noon, in summer time, while she was in her father's garden. And she had fasted the day before. And she heard the voice on her right, in the direction of the church; and when she heard the voice, she saw also a bright light." After-

Her visions.

ward St. Michael, and St. Margaret, and St. Catharine appeared to her. They were always in a halo of glory; she could see that their heads were crowned with jewels; and she heard their voices, which were sweet and mild. She did not distinguish their arms or limbs. She heard them more frequently than saw them; and the usual time when she heard them was when the church bells were sounding for prayer. And if she was in the woods when she heard them, she could plainly distinguish their voices drawing near to her.

The Heavenly Voices.

When she thought that she discerned the Heavenly Voices, she knelt down, and bowed herself to the ground. Their presence gladdened her even to tears; and after they departed, she wept because they had not taken her back to Paradise. They always spoke soothingly to her. They told her that France would be saved, and that she was to save it. Joan's heart was sorely troubled at the thought of the fate of Orleans; and her Voices now ordered her to leave her home; and warned her that she was the instrument chosen by Heaven for driving away the English from that city, and for taking the Dauphin to be anointed. One of her uncles consented to take her to Vaucouleurs, where De Baudricourt at first thought her mad, and derided her, but by degrees he was led to believe, if not in her inspiration, at least in her enthusiasm, and in its possible utility to the Dauphin's cause.

The fame of "The Maid," as she was termed, the renown of her holiness, and of her mission, spread far and wide. Baudricourt sent her with an escort to Chinon, where the Dauphin Charles was dallying away his time. Her Voices had bidden her assume the arms and the apparel of a knight; and the wealthiest inhabitants of Vaucouleurs had vied with each other in equipping her with war-horse, armor, and sword. On reaching Chinon, she was, after some delay, admitted into the presence of the Dauphin. Charles designedly dressed himself far less richly than many of his courtiers were apparelled, and mingled with them, when Joan was introduced, in order to see if the Holy Maid would address her exhortations to the wrong person. But she instantly singled him out, and the report soon spread abroad that the Holy Maid had found the King by a miracle; and this, with many other similar rumors, augmented the renown and influence that she now rapidly acquired.

Joan seeks the Dauphin

She recognizes the King.

Thus all things favored the influence which Joan obtained both over friends and foes. The French nation, as well as the English and the Burgundians, readily admitted that superhuman beings inspired her; the only question was whether these beings were good or evil angels. The Dauphin at first feared the injury that might be done to his cause if he laid himself open to the charge of having leagued himself with a sorceress. Every imaginable test,

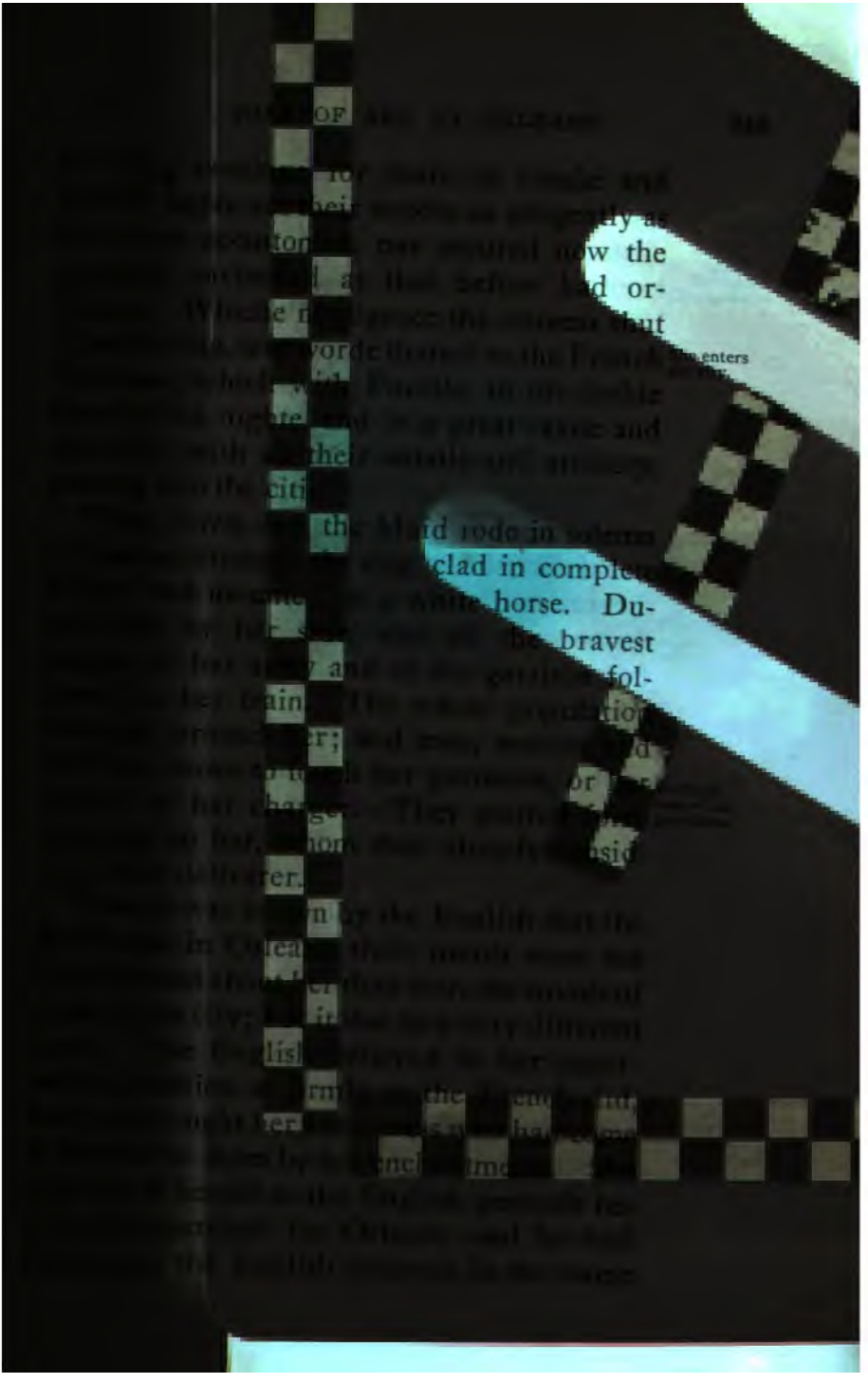
therefore, was resorted to in order to set Joan's orthodoxy and purity beyond suspicion. At last Charles and his advisers felt safe in accepting her services as those of a true and virtuous Christian daughter of the Holy Church.

Charles accepts her services.

While Charles and his doctors of theology, and court ladies, had been deliberating as to recognizing or dismissing the Maid, a considerable period had passed away, during which a small army, the last gleanings, as it seemed, of the English sword, had been assembled at Blois, under Dunois, La Hire, Xaintrailles, and other chiefs, who to their natural valor were now beginning to unite the wisdom that is taught by misfortune. It was resolved to send Joan with this force and a convoy of provisions to Orleans. The distress of that city had now become urgent. But the communication with the open country was not entirely cut off. The Orleannais had heard of the Holy Maid whom Providence had raised up for their deliverance, and their messengers earnestly implored the Dauphin to send her to them without delay.

Orleans begs her aid.

Joan marched from Blois on the 25th of April with a convoy of provisions for Orleans, accompanied by Dunois, La Hire, and the other chief captains of the French, and on the evening of the 28th they approached the town. In the words of the old chronicler Hall: "The Englishmen, perceiving that thei within could



of the Most High to give up to the Maid, who was sent by Heaven, the keys of the French cities which they had wrongfully taken. On her arrival in Orleans, Joan sent another similar message; but the English scoffed at her from their towers, and threatened to burn her heralds. She determined, before she shed the blood of the besiegers, to repeat the warning with her own voice; and accordingly she mounted one of the boulevards of the town, which was within hearing of the Tourelles, and thence she spoke to the English, and bade them depart, otherwise they would meet with shame and woe. Sir William Gladsdale (whom the French call Glacidas) commanded the English post at the Tourelles, and he and another English officer replied by bidding her go home and keep her cows, and by ribald jests, that brought tears of shame and indignation into her eyes. But, though the English leaders vaunted aloud, the effect produced on their army by Joan's presence in Orleans was proved four days after her arrival, when, on the approach of reinforcements and stores to the town, Joan and La Hire marched out to meet them, and escorted the long train of provision wagons safely into Orleans, between the bastilles of the English, who cowered behind their walls instead of charging fiercely and fearlessly, as had been their wont, on any French band that dared to show itself within reach.

Joan personally summons the English.

She is treated with contumely.

Reinforcements and stores arrive.

Thus far she had prevailed without striking a blow; but the time was now come to test her courage amid the horrors of actual slaughter. On the afternoon of the day on which she had escorted the reinforcements into the city, while she was resting fatigued at home, Dunois had seized an advantageous opportunity of attacking the English bastille of St. Loup, and a fierce assault of the Orleannais had been made on it, which the English garrison of the fort stubbornly resisted. Joan was roused by a sound which she believed to be that of her Heavenly Voices; she called for her arms and horse, and quickly equipping herself, she mounted to ride off to where the fight was raging. She rode out of the gate, and met the tide of her countrymen, who had been repulsed from the English fort, and were flying back to Orleans in confusion. At the sight of the Holy Maid and her banner they rallied, and renewed the assault. Joan rode forward at their head, waving her banner and cheering them on. The English quailed at what they believed to be the charge of hell; Saint Loup was stormed, and its defenders put to the sword, except some few, whom Joan succeeded in saving.

The Voices call to battle.

Joan's first success.

The next day was Ascension Day, and it was passed by Joan in prayer. But on the following morrow it was resolved by the chiefs of the garrison to attack the English forts on the south of the river. For this purpose they

Joan is wounded.

crossed the river in boats, and after some severe fighting, in which the Maid was wounded in the heel, both the English bastilles of the Augustins and Saint Jean de Blanc were captured. The Tourelles were now the only post which the besiegers held on the south of the river. But that post was formidably strong, and by its command of the bridge, it was the key to the deliverance of Orleans. It was known that a fresh English army was approaching under Fastolfe to reinforce the besiegers, and should that army arrive while the Tourelles were yet in the possession of their comrades, there was great peril of all the advantages which the French had gained being nullified, and of the siege being again actively carried on.

Peril of the besieged.

It was resolved, therefore, by the French, to assail the Tourelles at once, while the enthusiasm which the presence and the heroic valor of the Maid had created was at its height. But the enterprise was difficult. The rampart of the tête-du-pont, or landward bulwark, of the Tourelles was steep and high, and Sir John Gladsdale occupied this all-important fort with five hundred archers and men-at-arms, who were the very flower of the English army.

Early in the morning of the seventh of May, some thousands of the best French troops in Orleans heard mass and attended the confessional by Joan's orders, and then crossing the

river in boats, as on the preceding day, they assailed the bulwark of the Tourelles "with light hearts and heavy hands." But Gladsdale's men, encouraged by their bold and skilful leader, made a resolute and able defence. The Maid planted her banner on the edge of the fosse, and then springing down into the ditch, she placed the first ladder against the wall and began to mount. An English archer sent an arrow at her, which pierced her corselet, and wounded her severely between the neck and shoulder. She fell bleeding from the ladder; and the English were leaping down from the wall to capture her, but her followers bore her off. She was carried to the rear, and laid upon the grass; her armor was taken off, and the anguish of her wound and the sight of her blood made her at first tremble and weep. But her confidence in her celestial mission soon returned; her patron saints seemed to stand before her, and reassure her. She sat up and drew the arrow out with her own hands. Some of the soldiers who stood by wished to stanch the blood by saying a charm over the wound; but she forbade them, saying that she did not wish to be cured by unhallowed means. She had the wound dressed with a little oil, and then bidding her confessor come to her, she betook herself to prayer.

The Tourelles assailed.

Joan's fortitude.

In the meanwhile, the English in the bulwark of the Tourelles had repulsed the oft-

renewed efforts of the French to scale the wall. Dunois, who commanded the assailants, was at last discouraged, and gave orders for a retreat to be sounded. Joan sent for him and the other generals, and implored them not to despair. "By my God," she said to them, "you shall soon enter in there. Do not doubt it. When you see my banner wave again up to the wall, to your arms again! for the fort is yours. For the present, rest a little, and take some food and drink." "They did so," says the old chronicler of the siege, "for they obey her marvellously." The faintness caused by the wound had now passed off, and she headed the French in another rush against the bulwark. The English, who had thought her slain, were alarmed at her reappearance, while the French pressed furiously and fanatically forward. A Biscayan soldier was carrying Jean's banner. She had told the troops that directly the banner touched the wall, they should enter. The Biscayan waved the banner from the edge of the fosse, and touched the wall with it; and then all the French host swarmed madly up the ladders that now were raised in all directions against the English fort.

She encourages her followers.

The assault.

At this crisis, the efforts of the English garrison were distracted by an attack from another quarter. The French troops who had been left in Orleans had placed some planks over the broken arch of the bridge, and ad-

vanced across them to the assault of the Tourelles on the northern side. Gladsdale resolved to withdraw his men from the landward bulwark, and concentrate his whole force in the Tourelles themselves. He was passing for this purpose across the drawbridge that connected the Tourelles and the tête-du-pont, when Joan, who by this time had scaled the wall of the bulwark, called out to him, "Surrender! surrender to the King of Heaven! Ah, Glacidas, you have foully wronged me with your words, but I have great pity on your soul, and the souls of your men." The Englishman, disdainful of her summons, was striding on across the drawbridge, when a cannon shot from the town carried it away, and Gladsdale perished in the water that ran beneath. After his fall, the remnant of the English abandoned all further resistance. Three hundred of them had been killed in the battle, and two hundred were made prisoners.

Death of Gladsdale.

The broken arch was speedily repaired by the exulting Orleannais, and Joan made her triumphal re-entry into the city by the bridge that had so long been closed. Every church in Orleans rang out its gratulating peal: and throughout the night the sounds of rejoicing echoed, and bonfires blazed up from the city. But in the lines and forts which the besiegers yet retained on the northern shore, there was anxious watching of the generals, and there

Rejoicing in Orleans.

was desponding gloom among the soldiery. Even Talbot now counselled retreat. On the following morning the Orleannais, from their walls, saw the great forts called "London" and "St. Lawrence" in flames, and witnessed their invaders busy in destroying the stores and munitions which had been relied on for the destruction of Orleans. Slowly and sullenly the English army retired; and not before it had drawn up in battle array opposite to the city, as if to challenge the garrison to an encounter. The French troops were eager to go out and attack, but Joan forbade it. The day was Sunday. "In the name of God," she said, "let them depart, and let us return thanks to God." She led the soldiers and citizens forth from Orleans, but not for the shedding of blood. They passed in solemn procession round the city walls, and then, while their retiring enemies were yet in sight, they knelt in thanksgiving to God for the deliverance which he had vouchsafed them.

Retreat of the English.

Within three months of the time of her first interview with the Dauphin, Joan had fulfilled the first part of her promise, the raising of the siege of Orleans. Within three months more she had fulfilled the second part also, and had stood with her banner in her hand by the high altar at Rheims, while he was anointed and crowned as King Charles VII. of France. In the interval she had taken Jargeau, Troyes, and other strong places, and she

Charles VII is crowned in Rheims.

had defeated an English army in a fair field at Patay.

When Charles had been anointed King of France, Joan believed that her mission was accomplished. And, in truth, the deliverance of France from the English, though not completed for many years afterward, was then ensured. With a strong tide of national feeling in his favor, with victorious generals and soldiers round him, and a dispirited and divided enemy before him, Charles could not fail to conquer, though his own imprudence and misconduct, and the stubborn valor which the English still from time to time displayed, prolonged the war in France until the civil war of the Roses broke out in England, and left France to peace and repose.

France has peace and repose.

[The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges establishes the liberties of the Gallican Church (1438). The establishment of the companies of archers (1444), the first national standing army, and a permanent tax for their support, powerfully aid the oppression of the French monarchs. In 1440, the Florentines gain a victory over the Milanese at the battle of Anghiari, known also as the "Fight for the Standard." The Republic of Milan is re-established (1447); extinction of the Visconti. The English are finally expelled from France in 1452.]

First national standing army.

THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

(A.D. 1453)

EDWARD GIBBON

OF the triangle which composes the figure of Constantinople, the two sides along the sea were made inaccessible to an enemy: the Propontis by nature, and the harbor by art. Between the two waters, the base of the triangle, the land side, was protected by a double wall and a deep ditch of the depth of one hundred feet. Against this line of fortification, which Phranza, an eye-witness, prolongs to the measure of six miles, the Ottomans directed their principal attack; and the Emperor, after distributing the service and command of the most perilous stations, undertook the defence of the external wall. In the first days of the siege, the Greek soldiers descended into the ditch, or sallied into the field; but they soon discovered that, in the proportion of their numbers, one Christian was of more value than twenty Turks; and, after these bold preludes, they were prudently content to maintain the rampart with their missile weapons. Nor should this prudence be accused of pusillanimity. The na-

Defences of the city.

tion was indeed pusillanimous and base; but the last Constantine deserves the name of a hero; his noble band of volunteers was inspired with Roman virtue; and the foreign auxiliaries supported the honor of the Western chivalry. The incessant volleys of lances and arrows were accompanied with the smoke, the sound, and the fire of their musketry and cannon. Their small-arms discharged at the same time either five or even ten balls of lead of the size of a walnut; and, according to the closeness of the ranks and the force of the powder, several breast-plates and bodies were transpierced by the same shot. But the Turkish approaches were soon sunk in trenches or covered with ruins. Each day added to the science of the Christians; but their inadequate stock of gunpowder was wasted in the operations of each day. Their ordnance was not powerful either in size or number; and, if they possessed some heavy cannon, they feared to plant them on the walls, lest the aged structure should be shaken and overthrown by the explosion. The same destructive secret had been revealed to the Moslems; by whom it was employed with the superior energy of zeal, riches, and despotism. The great cannon of Mahomet was an important and visible object in the history of the times; but that enormous engine was flanked by two fellows almost of equal magnitude; the long order of the Turkish artillery was pointed

Heroism of the Emperor.

Superiority of the Turkish artillery.

against the walls; fourteen batteries thundered at once on the most accessible places; and of one of these it is ambiguously expressed that it was mounted with one hundred and thirty guns, or that it discharged one hundred and thirty bullets. Yet, in the power and activity of the Sultan, we may discern the infancy of the new science. Under a master who counted the moments, the great cannon could be loaded and fired no more than seven times in one day. The heated metal unfortunately burst; several workmen were destroyed; and the skill of an artist was admired, who bethought himself of preventing the danger and the accident, by pouring oil, after each explosion, into the mouth of the cannon.

Bursting of the big gun.

The first random shots were productive of more sound than effect; and it was by the advice of a Christian that the engineers were taught to level their aim against the two opposite sides of the salient angles of a bastion. However imperfect, the weight and repetition of the fire made some impression on the walls; and the Turks, pushing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, attempted to fill the enormous chasm and to build a road to the assault. Innumerable fascines and hogsheads and trunks of trees were heaped on each other; and such was the impetuosity of the throng that the foremost and the weakest were pushed headlong down the precipice and instantly

Attack and defence.

buried under the accumulated mass. To fill the ditch was the toil of the besiegers; to clear away the rubbish was the safety of the besieged; and, after a long and bloody conflict, the web that had been woven in the day was still unravelled in the night. The next resource of Mahomet was the practice of mines; but the soil was rocky; in every attempt he was stopped and undermined by the Christian engineers; nor had the art been yet invented of replenishing whole subterraneous passages with gunpowder and blowing whole towers and cities into the air. A circumstance that distinguishes the siege of Constantinople is the reunion of the ancient and modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts; the bullet and the battering-ram were directed against the same walls; nor had the discovery of gunpowder superseded the use of the liquid and inextinguishable fire. A wooden turret of the largest size was advanced on rollers; this portable magazine of ammunition and fascines was protected by a threefold covering of bulls' hides; incessant volleys were securely discharged from the loop-holes; in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate sally and retreat of the soldiers [illegible]. They ascended by a staircase [illegible] platform, and, as high as the [illegible] orm, a scaling ladder could [illegible] to form a bridge and

Mines and counter-mines.

Greek fire.

grapple with the adverse rampart. By these various arts of annoyance, some as new as they were pernicious to the Greeks, the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned; after a severe struggle, the Turks were repulsed from the breach and interrupted by darkness; but they trusted that with the return of light they should renew the attack with fresh vigor and decisive success. Of this pause of action, this interval of hope, each moment was improved by the activity of the Emperor, and Justiniani, who passed the night on the spot, and urged the labors which involved the safety of the church and city. At the dawn of day, the impatient Sultan perceived, with astonishment and grief, that his wooden turret had been reduced to ashes; the ditch was cleared and restored; and the tower of St. Romanus was again strong and entire. He deplored the failure of his design; and uttered a profane exclamation that the word of the thirty-seven thousand prophets should not have compelled him to believe that such a work, in so short a time, should have been accomplished by the infidels.

Fall of the Tower of St. Romanus.

The damage quickly repaired.

The generosity of the Christian princes was cold and tardy; but, in the first apprehension of a siege, Constantine had negotiated, in the isles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the most indispensable supplies. As early as the beginning of April, five great ships, equipped for merchandise and war, would

Five ships bring supplies.

have sailed from the harbor of Chios, had not the wind blown obstinately from the north. One of these ships bore the Imperial flag; the remaining four belonged to the Genoese; and they were laden with wheat and barley, with wine, oil, and vegetables, and, above all, with soldiers and mariners, for the service of the capital. After a tedious delay, a gentle breeze, and, on the second day, a strong gale from the south, carried them through the Hellespont and the Propontis; but the city was already invested by sea and land; and the Turkish fleet, The Turkish fleet. at the entrance of the Bosphorus, was stretched from shore to shore, in the form of a crescent, to intercept, or at least to repel, these bold auxiliaries. The reader who has present to his mind the geographical picture of Constantinople will conceive and admire the greatness of the spectacle. The five Christian ships continued to advance with joyful shouts, and a full press both of sails and oars, against a hostile fleet of three hundred vessels; and the rampart, the camp, the coasts of Europe and Asia, were lined with innumerable spectators, who anxiously awaited the event of this momentous succor. At the first view, that event could not appear doubtful: the superiority of the Moslems was beyond all measure or account; and, in a calm, their numbers and valor must inevitably have prevailed. But their hasty and imperfect navy had been created, by the genius of the people, but by

the will of the Sultan. In the height of their prosperity, the Turks have acknowledged that, if God had given them the earth, he had left the sea to the infidels; and a series of defeats, a rapid progress of decay, has established the truth of their modest confession. Except eighteen galleys of some force, the rest of their fleet consisted of open boats, rudely constructed and awkwardly managed, crowded with troops and destitute of cannon; and, since courage arises in a great measure from the consciousness of strength, the bravest of the Janizaries might tremble on a new element. In the Christian squadron, five stout and lofty ships were guided by skilful pilots, and manned with the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practiced in the arts and perils of the sea. Their weight was directed to sink or scatter the weak obstacles that impeded their passage; their artillery swept the waters; their liquid fire was poured on the heads of the adversaries who, with the design of boarding, presumed to approach them; and the winds and waves are always on the side of the ablest navigators. In this conflict, the Imperial vessel, which had been almost overpowered, was rescued by the Genoese; but the Turks, in a distant and closer attack, were twice repulsed with considerable loss. Mahomet himself sat on horseback on the beach, to encourage their valor by his voice and presence, by the promise of reward, and by fear

Mohammedan naval defeats.

Mahomet's fruitless efforts.

more potent than the fear of the enemy. The passions of his soul, and even the gestures of his body, seemed to imitate the actions of the combatants; and, as if he had been the lord of nature, he spurred his horse with a fearless and impotent effort into the sea. His loud reproaches, and the clamors of the camp, urged the Ottomans to a third attack, more fatal and bloody than the two former; and I must repeat, though I can not credit, the evidence of Phranza, who affirms, from their own mouth, that they lost about twelve thousand men in the slaughter of the day. They fled in disorder to the shores of Europe and Asia, while the Christian squadron, triumphant and unhurt, steered along the Bosphorus and securely anchored within the chain of the harbor. In the confidence of victory, they boasted that the whole Turkish power must have yielded to their arms; but the admiral, or captain-bashaw, found some consolation for a painful wound in his eye, by representing that accident as the cause of his defeat. Baltha Ogli was a renegade of the race of the Bulgarian princes; his military character was tainted with the unpopular vice of avarice; and, under the despotism of the prince or people, misfortune is a sufficient evidence of guilt. His rank and services were annihilated by the displeasure of Mahomet. In the royal presence, the captain-bashaw was extended on the ground by four slaves, and received one hun-

Triumph of the Christians.

Punishment of the Turkish admiral.

dred strokes with a golden rod; his death had been pronounced; and he adored the clemency of the Sultan, who was satisfied with the milder punishment of confiscation and exile. The introduction of this supply revived the hopes of the Greeks, and accused the supineness of their Western allies. Amid the deserts of Anatolia and the rocks of Palestine, the millions of the crusaders had buried themselves in a voluntary and inevitable grave; but the situation of the Imperial City was strong against her enemies, and accessible to her friends; and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime states might have saved the relics of the Roman name and maintained a Christian fortress in the heart of the Ottoman Empire. Yet this was the sole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople; the more distant powers were insensible of its danger; and the ambassador of Hungary, or at least of Huniades, resided in the Turkish camp, to remove the fears, and to direct the operations, of the Sultan.

Indifference of Christendom.

It was difficult for the Greeks to penetrate the secret of the divan; yet the Greeks are persuaded that a resistance, so obstinate and surprising, had fatigued the perseverance of Mahomet. He began to meditate a retreat, and the siege would have been speedily raised, if the ambition and jealousy of the second vizir had not opposed the perfidious advice of Calil Bashaw, who still maintained a secret

Mahomet meditates retreat.

correspondence with the Byzantine court. The reduction of the city appeared to be hopeless, unless a double attack could be made from the harbor as well as from the land; but the harbor was inaccessible: an impenetrable chain was now defended by eight large ships, more than twenty of a smaller size, with several galleys and sloops; and, instead of forcing this barrier, the Turks might apprehend a naval sally and a second encounter in the open sea. In this perplexity, the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous cast, of transporting by land his lighter vessels and military stores from the Bosphorus into the higher part of the harbor. The distance is about ten miles; the ground is uneven, and was overspread with thickets; and, as the road must be opened behind the suburb of Galata, their free passage or total destruction must depend on the option of the Genoese. But these selfish merchants were ambitious of the favor of being the last devoured; and the deficiency of art was supplied by the strength of obedient myriads. A level way was covered with a broad platform of strong and solid planks; and to render them more slippery and smooth, they were anointed with the fat of sheep and oxen. Fourscore light galleys and brigantines of fifty and thirty oars were disembarked on the Bosphorus shore; arranged successively on rollers; and drawn forward by the power of men and pul-

Mahomet's genius.

He transports his fleet overland.

leys. Two guides or pilots were stationed at the helm and the prow of each vessel; the sails were unfurled to the winds; and the labor was cheered by song and acclamation. In the course of a single night, this Turkish fleet painfully climbed the hill, steered over the plain, and was launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the harbor, far above the molestation of the deeper vessels of the Greeks. The real importance of this operation was magnified by the consternation and confidence which it inspired; but the notorious, unquestionable fact was displayed before the eyes, and is recorded by the pens, of the two nations. A similar stratagem had been repeatedly practiced by the ancients; the Ottoman galleys (I must again repeat) should be considered as large boats; and, if we compare the magnitude and the distance, the obstacles and the means, the boasted miracle has perhaps been equalled by the industry of our own times. As soon as Mahomet had occupied the upper harbor with a fleet and army, he constructed, in the narrowest part, a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty cubits in breadth and one hundred in length; it was formed of casks and hogsheads, joined with rafters linked with iron, and covered with a solid floor. On this floating battery he planted one of his largest cannon, while the fourscore galleys, with troops and scaling-ladders, approached the most accessible side,

Consternation of the besieged.

Mahomet constructs a mole.

which had formerly been stormed by the Latin conquerors. The indolence of the Christians has been accused for not destroying these unfinished works; but their fire, by a superior fire, was controlled and silenced; nor were they wanting in a nocturnal attempt to burn the vessels as well as the bridge of the Sultan. His vigilance prevented their approach; their foremost galliots were sunk or taken; forty youths, the bravest of Italy and Greece, were inhumanly massacred at his command; nor could the Emperor's grief be assuaged by the just though cruel retaliation of exposing from the walls the heads of two hundred and sixty Mussulman captives. After a siege of forty days, the fate of Constantinople could no longer be averted. The diminutive garrison was exhausted by a double attack; the fortifications, which had stood for ages against hostile violence, were dismantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon; many breaches were opened; and near the gate of Saint Romanus four towers had been levelled with the ground. For the payment of his feeble and mutinous troops, Constantine was compelled to despoil the churches, with the promise of a fourfold restitution; and his sacrilege offered a new reproach to the enemies of the union. A spirit of discord impaired the remnant of the Christian strength; the Genoese and Venetian auxiliaries asserted the pre-eminence of their respective service; and Justiniani and the

Distress of the city.

Desertion of the Genoese and Venetians.

Great Duke, whose ambition was not extinguished by the common danger, accused each other of treachery and cowardice.

During the siege of Constantinople, the words of peace and capitulation had been sometimes pronounced; and several embassies had passed between the camp and the city. The Greek Emperor was humbled by adversity; and would have yielded to any terms compatible with religion and royalty. The Turkish Sultan was desirous of sparing the blood of his soldiers; still more desirous of securing for his own use the Byzantine treasures; and he accomplished a sacred duty in presenting to the Gabours the choice of circumcision, of tribute, or of death. The avarice of Mahomet might have been satisfied with an annual sum of one hundred thousand ducats; but his ambition grasped the capital of the East; to the prince he offered a rich equivalent, to the people a free toleration or a safe departure; but, after some fruitless treaty, he declared his resolution of finding either a throne or a grave under the walls of Constantinople. A sense of honor and the fear of universal reproach forbade Paleologus to resign the city into the hands of the Ottomans; and he determined to abide the last extremities of war. Several days were employed by the Sultan in the preparations of the assault; and a respite was granted by his favorite science of astrology, which had fixed

Terms of capitulation

Preparations for the assault.

on the 29th of May as the fortunate and fatal hour. On the evening of the 27th, he issued his final orders; assembled in his presence the military chiefs; and dispersed his heralds through the camp to proclaim the duty and the motives of the perilous enterprise. Fear is the first principle of a despotic government; and his menaces were expressed in the Oriental style, that the fugitives and deserters, had they the wings of a bird, should not escape from his inexorable justice. The greatest part of his bashaws and Janizaries were the offspring of Christian parents; but the glories of the Turkish name were perpetuated by successive adoption; and, in the gradual change of individuals, the spirit of a legion, a regiment, or an *oda* is kept alive by imitation and discipline. In this holy warfare, the Moslems were exhorted to purify their minds with prayer, their bodies with seven absolutions; and to abstain from food till the close of the ensuing day. A crowd of dervishes visited the tents, to instil the desire of martyrdom, and the assurance of spending an immortal youth amid the rivers and gardens of paradise and in the embraces of the black-eyed virgins. Yet Mahomet principally trusted to the efficacy of temporal and visible rewards. A double pay was promised to the victorious troops. "The city and the buildings," said Mahomet, "are mine; but I resign to your valor the captives and the spoil, the treasures

Final orders.

Mahomet's promises of reward.

of gold and beauty; be rich and be happy. Many are the provinces of my empire: the intrepid soldier who first ascends the walls of Constantinople shall be rewarded with the government of the fairest and most wealthy; and my gratitude shall accumulate his honors and fortunes above the measure of his own hopes." Such various and potent motives diffused among the Turks a general ardor, regardless of life and impatient for action; the camp re-echoed with the Moslem shouts of "God is God, there is but one God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God"; and the sea and land, from Galata to the seven towers, were illuminated by the blaze of their nocturnal fires.

Ardor of the Turks.

Far different was the state of the Christians; who, with loud and impotent complaints, deplored the guilt, or the punishment, of their sins. The celestial image of the Virgin had been exposed in solemn procession: but their divine patroness was deaf to their entreaties: they accused the obstinacy of the Emperor for refusing a timely surrender; anticipated the horrors of their fate; and sighed for the repose and security of Turkish servitude. The noblest of the Greeks, and the bravest of the allies, were summoned to the palace, to prepare them, on the evening of the twenty-eighth, for the duties and dangers of the general assault. The last speech of Paleologus was the funeral oration of the Roman Empire: he promised, he conjured, and he vainly

Depression of the Christians.

Speech of the Emperor.

attempted to infuse the hope which was extinguished in his own mind. In this world all was comfortless and gloomy; and neither the Gospel nor the Church have proposed any conspicuous recompense to the heroes who fall in the service of their country. But the example of their prince and the confinement of a siege had armed these warriors with the courage of despair; and the pathetic scene is described by the feelings of the historian Phranza, who was himself present at this mournful assembly. They wept, they embraced; regardless of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives; and each commander, departing to his station, maintained all night a vigilant and anxious watch on the rampart. The Emperor, and some faithful companions, entered the dome of Saint Sophia, which in a few hours was to be converted into a mosque; and devoutly received, with tears and prayers, the sacrament of the holy communion. He reposed some moments in the palace, which resounded with cries and lamentations; solicited the pardon of all whom he might have injured; and mounted on horseback to visit the guards and explore the motions of the enemy. The distress and fall of the last Constantine are more glorious than the long prosperity of the Byzantine Cæsars.

The courage of despair.

The glory of the last Constantine.

In the confusion of darkness an assailant may sometimes succeed; but, in this great and general attack, the military judgment and as-

trological knowledge of Mahomet advised him to expect the morning, the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third year of the Christian era. The preceding night had been strenuously employed: the troops, the cannon, and the fascines were advanced to the edge of the ditch, which, in many parts, presented a smooth and level passage to the breach; and his fourscore galleys almost touched, with their prows and their scaling-ladders, the less defensible walls of the harbor. Under pain of death, silence was enjoined; but the physical laws of motion and sound are not obedient to discipline or fear; each individual might suppress his voice and measure his footsteps; but the march and labor of thousands must inevitably produce a strange confusion of dissonant clamors, which reached the ears of the watchmen of the towers. At daybreak, without the customary signal of the morning-gun, the Turks assaulted the city by sea and land; and the similitude of a twined or twisted thread has been applied to the closeness and continuity of their line of attack. The foremost ranks consisted of the refuse of the host, a voluntary crowd, who fought without order or command; of the feebleness of age or childhood, of peasants and vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulse drove them onward to the wall; the most audacious to climb were

The general assault.

Character of the vanguard.

instantly precipitated; and not a dart, not a bullet of the Christians was idly wasted on the accumulated throng. But their strength and ammunition were exhausted in this laborious defence: the ditch was filled with the bodies of the slain; they supported the footsteps of their companions: and of this devoted vanguard, the death was more serviceable than the life. Under their respective bashaws and sanjaks, the troops of Anatolia and Romania were successively led to the charge: their progress was various and doubtful; but, after a conflict of two hours, the Greeks still maintained and improved their advantage: and the voice of the Emperor was heard, encouraging his soldiers to achieve, by a last effort, the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment, the Janizaries arose, fresh, vigorous, and invincible. The Sultan himself, on horseback, with an iron mace in his hand, was the spectator and judge of their valor; he was surrounded by ten thousand of his domestic troops, whom he reserved for the decisive occasion; and the tide of battle was directed and impelled by his voice and eye. His numerous ministers of justice were posted behind the line, to urge, to restrain, and to punish; and, if danger was in the front, shame and inevitable death was in the rear of the fugitives. The cries of fear and of pain were drowned in the martial music of drums, trumpets, and attaballs; and experience has proved that the me-

The Janizaries.

chanical operation of sounds, by quickening the circulation of the blood and spirits, will act on the human machine more forcibly than the eloquence of reason and honor. From the lines, the galleys, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all sides; and the camp and city, the Greeks and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of smoke, which could only be dispelled by the final deliverance or destruction of the Roman Empire.

John Justiniani's conduct.

The immediate loss of Constantinople may be ascribed to the bullet or arrow which pierced the gauntlet of John Justiniani. The sight of his blood, and the exquisite pain, appalled the courage of the chief, whose arms and counsel were the firmest rampart of the city. As he withdrew from his station in quest of a surgeon, his flight was perceived and stopped by the indefatigable Emperor. "Your wound," exclaimed Paleologus, "is slight; the danger is pressing; your presence is necessary; and whither will you retire?" "I will retire," said the trembling Genoese, "by the same road which God has opened to the Turks;" and at these words he hastily passed through one of the breaches of the inner wall. By this pusillanimous act, he stained the honors of a military life; and the few days which he survived in Galata, off the Isle of Chios, were imbittered by his own and the public reproach. His

His example imitated

example was imitated by the greater part of the Latin auxiliaries, and the defence began to

slacken when the attack was pressed with redoubled vigor. The number of the Ottomans was fifty, perhaps a hundred, times superior to that of the Christians; the double walls were reduced by the cannon to a heap of ruins; in a circuit of several miles, some places must be found more easy of access or more feebly guarded; and, if the besiegers could penetrate in a single point, the whole city was irrecoverably lost. The first who deserved the Sultan's reward was Hassan, the Janizary, of gigantic stature and strength. With his cimeter in one hand, and his buckler in the other, he ascended the outward fortification; of the thirty Janizaries who were emulous of his valor, eighteen perished in the bold adventure. Hassan and his twelve companions had reached the summit; the giant was precipitated from the rampart; he rose on one knee, and was again oppressed by a shower of darts and stones. But his success had proved that the achievement was possible; the walls and towers were instantly covered with a swarm of Turks; and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage-ground, were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. Amid these multitudes, the Emperor, who accomplished all the duties of a general and a soldier, was long seen, and finally lost. The nobles who fought round his person sustained, till their last breath, the honorable names of Paleologus and Cantacuzene: his mournful exclamation was heard, "Can not

Rout of the Greeks.

there be found a Christian to cut off my head?" and his last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels. The prudent despair of Constantine cast away the purple; amid the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain. After his death resistance and order were no more; the Greeks fled toward the city; and many were pressed and stifled in the narrow pass of the gate of Saint Romanus. The victorious Turks rushed through the breaches of the inner wall; and, as they advanced into the streets, they were soon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phenar on the side of the harbor. In the first heat of the pursuit, about two thousand Christians were put to the sword; but avarice soon prevailed over cruelty; and the victors acknowledged that they should have immediately given quarter, if the valor of the Emperor and his chosen bands had not prepared them for a similar opposition in every part of the capital. It was thus, after a siege of fifty-three days, that Constantinople, which had defied the power of Chosroes, the Chagan, and the caliphs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mahomet the Second. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins; her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors.

Death of the Emperor Constantine Paleologus.

Massacre and pillage.

INVENTION OF PRINTING

(A.D. 1454)

J. H. HESSELS

THE art of printing, *i.e.*, of impressing (by means of certain forms and colors) figures, pictures, letters, words, lines, whole pages, etc., on other objects, as also the art of engraving, which is inseparably connected with printing, existed long before the Fifteenth Century. Not to go back to remoter essays, there is reason to suppose that medieval kings and princes (among others William the Conqueror) had their monograms cut on blocks of wood or metal in order to impress them on their charters. Such impressions from stamps are found instead of seals on charters of the Fifteenth Century. Manuscripts of the Twelfth Century show initials which, on account of their uniformity, are believed to have been impressed by means of stamps or dies. But the idea of multiplying representations from one engraved plate or block or other form was unknown to the ancients, whereas it is predominant in that we call the art of block-printing, and especially

First attempts at printing.

in that of typography, in which the same types can be used again and again.

East Asian printing.

Block-printing and printing with movable types seem to have been practiced in China and Japan long before they were known in Europe. It is said that in the year 175 the text of the Chinese classics was cut upon tablets, which were erected outside the university, and that impressions were taken of them, some of which are said to be still in existence. Printing from wooden blocks can be traced as far back as the Sixth Century, when the founder of the Suy dynasty is said to have had the remains of the classical books engraved on wood, though it was not until the Tenth Century that printed books became common. In

Early block printing in Japan.

Japan, the earliest example of block-printing dates from the period 764-770, when the Empress Shiyau-toku, in pursuance of a vow, had a million small wooden toy pagodas made for distribution among the Buddhist temples and monasteries, each of which was to contain a dhâranî out of the Buddhist Scriptures, entitled, "Vimala nirbhasa Sûtra," printed on a slip of paper about eighteen inches in length and two in width, which was rolled up and deposited in the body of the pagoda under the spire. In a journal of the period, under the year 987, the expression "printed-book" (*surihoñ*) is found applied to a copy of the Buddhist canon brought back from China by a Buddhist priest. This, of course, must have

been a Chinese edition; but the use of the term implies that printed books were already known in Japan. It is said that the Chinese printed with movable types (of clay) from the middle of the Eleventh Century. The authorities of the British Museum exhibit as the earliest instance of Corean books printed with movable types a work printed in 1337. To the Corean is attributed the invention of copper types in the beginning of the Fifteenth Century; and an inspection of books bearing dates of that period seems to show that they used such types, even if they did not invent them.

Movable types in China.

From such evidence as we have it would seem that Europe is not indebted to the Chinese or Japanese for the art of block-printing, nor for that of printing with movable types.

In Europe, as late as the second half of the Fourteenth Century, every book (including school and prayer-books), and every public and private document, proclamation, bull, letter, etc., was written by hand; all figures and pictures, even playing-cards and images of saints, were drawn with the pen or painted with a brush. In the Thirteenth Century there already existed a kind of book-trade. The organization of universities, as well as that of large ecclesiastical establishments, was at that time incomplete, especially in Italy, France, and Germany, without a staff of

MS. period.

Scribes and transcribers.

scribes and transcribers (*scriptores*), illuminators, lenders, sellers, and custodians of books (*stationarii librorum, librarii*), and *pergamenarii, i.e.,* persons who prepared and sold the vellum or parchment required for books and documents. The books supplied were, for the most part, legal, theological, and educational, and are calculated to have amounted to above one hundred different works.

As no book or document could gain approval unless it had some ornamented and illuminated initials or capital letters, there was no want of illuminators. The workmen scribes and transcribers were, perhaps without exception, caligraphers, and the illuminators for the most part artists. Beautifully written and richly illuminated manuscripts on vellum became objects of luxury which were eagerly bought and treasured up by princes and people of distinction. Burgundy of the Fifteenth Century, with its rich literature, its wealthy towns, its love for art, and its rich school of painting, was in this respect the centre of Europe, and the libraries of its dukes at Brussels, Bruges, Antwerp, Ghent, etc., contained more than three thousand beautifully illuminated manuscripts.

Burgundy the European centre

In speaking of the writing of the manuscripts of the Fifteenth and two preceding centuries, it is essential to distinguish in each country between at least four different classes

Classes of writing.

of writing, and two of these must again be subdivided each into two classes. All these different kinds of writing were, in the first instance, taken as models for cutting such portions of text as were intended to illustrate and explain the figures in block books, and afterward as models for the types used in the printing of books and documents.

When all this writing, transcribing, illuminating, etc., had reached their period of greatest development, the art of printing from wooden blocks (block-printing, xylography) on silk, cloth, etc., vellum and paper made its appearance in Europe. It seems to have been practiced, so far as we have evidence, on cloth, etc., and vellum as early as the Twelfth Century, and on paper as far back as the second half of the Fourteenth Century, while it was largely employed in the early part of the Fifteenth in the production of (1) separate leaves (called *briefs*, from *breve*, scriptum), containing either a picture (*print, prent*, shortened from the French *emprint, empreinte*, and already used by Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, 6186, six-text D. 604 *printe, prente, preente*, and in other early English documents; also called in colloquial German *Helge, Helglein*, or *Halge*) or a piece of text, or both together; and of (2) whole block books, sometimes consisting of half picture and half text, or wholly of text, or altogether of picture. It is, however, certain that about 1400 xylography was

Xylography.

known all over Germany, Flanders, and Holland.

When we, for the moment, leave out of sight the question as to when, where, and by whom the art of printing with movable metal types was invented, and take our stand on well-authenticated dates in such printed documents as have been preserved to us, we find that the first printed date, 1454, occurs in two different editions of the same letters of indulgence issued in that year by Pope Nicholas V. in behalf of the kingdom of Cyprus. These two different editions are usually regarded as having been printed at Mainz; and, so long as there is no evidence to the contrary, we may assume that such was really the fact. But we must at the same time conclude that about November, 1454, there were at least two rival printers at work there.

The earliest dated book is 1454.

Till the moment (say 1477) that printing spread to almost all the chief towns of Germany, Italy, Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, Spain, England, not a single printer carried away with him a set of types or a set of punches or molds from the master who had taught him, but, in setting up his printing-office, each man cast a set of types for his own use, always imitating as closely as possible the handwriting of some particular manuscript which he or his patron desired to publish. Another most important feature in the earliest books is that the printers imitated, not

The spread of printing.

Gutenberg and his Press

(THE INVENTION OF PRINTING. A.D. 1454)

From Painting by Hillemacher

No pre-eminence among early printers.

any evidence were found that Ketelaer and De Leempt and Caxton had really printed their first books in 1454, there would be nothing in the workmanship of these books to prevent us from placing them in that year.

Though the *Cologne Chronicle* of 1499 denies to Mainz the honor of the invention of the art of printing, it was right in asserting that after it had been brought there from Holland, it became much more masterly and exact, and more and more artistic. During the first half century of printing a good many printers distinguished themselves by the beauty, excellence, and literary value of their productions. We may mention as such: Johan Fust and Peter Schoeffer at Mainz; Johan Mentelin and Heinrich Eggestein at Strasburg; Ulrich Zell at Cologne; Sweynheym and Pannarts at Subiaco and at Rome; Nicholas Jensen at Venice; Anton Koberger at Nuremberg; Ketelaer and De Leempt at Utrecht; Johan Veldener at Louvain, Utrecht, and Knilenburg; Gerard Leeu at Gonda, Johan of Westphalia at Louvain; and William Caxton at Westminster.

Improvements in Holland.

Very soon the demand for books increased, and with it came a reduction in their prices. This caused a decline in the execution of printing, which begins to be appreciable about 1480 in some localities, and may be said to have become general toward the end of the Fifteenth Century. At all times, however,

we find some printers raise their art to a great height by the beauty of their types and the literary excellence of their productions.

[The Wars of the Roses begin in England between the Yorkists and Lancastrians; battles of Saint Albans (1455), Northampton and Wakefield (1460), Towton (1461), and Hexham (1464), Barnet and Tewksbury (1471). Mohammed II. besieges Belgrade and is defeated by Huniades; but he conquers Athens and all the Greek States (1456). The Council of Ten depose Foscari, Doge of Venice, who immediately dies (1457). Matthias of Hungary wrests Bosnia from the Turks; he abolishes the old Magyar war system and forms a standing army of infantry,—the Black Guard (1464). The Genoese lose the Crimea and their trade in the Levant to the Venetians (1473). Ivan of Russia marries Sophia, the niece of the last Greek Emperor (1472); hence arises the Russian claim to the Greek Empire:—first adoption of the title of Czar. The Santa Hernandad (Holy Brotherhood) is instituted by the cities of Castile against the plundering nobles (1476). Charles the Bold suffers terrible defeats by the Swiss at Granson and Morat (1476).]

Mohammed II. conquers the Greek States.

NANCY.—DEATH OF CHARLES THE BOLD

(A.D. 1476–1477)

JULES MICHELET

THE Duke fled to Morges, twelve leagues distant, without saying a word; thence repaired to Gex, where the steward of the Duke of Savoy lodged him, and got him to attend to his personal wants.

The States of Franche-Comte assemble.

He assembled at Salins the States of Franche-Comté, where he spoke haughtily, with that indomitable courage of his, of his resources, of his projects, and of the future Kingdom of Burgundy. He was about to collect an army of forty thousand men, to tax his subjects to the extent of a quarter of their possessions. . . . The States groaned to hear him, and represented to him that the country was ruined; all they could offer him was three thousand men, and that solely for the defence of the country.

"Well, then," exclaimed the Duke, "you will soon have to give the enemy more than you refuse your Prince. I shall repair to Flanders and take up my abode there, where I have more faithful subjects."

He said the same to the Burgundians and the Flemings, and with no more success. The state of Dijon did not fear, declaring that the war was useless, and that the people were not to be trampled down on account of a wrongful quarrel, which could come to no good end. Flanders was sterner still, and replied that if he were surrounded by the Swiss and Germans, and had not troops sufficient to disengage himself, he had only to send them word, and the Flemings would repair to his rescue.

Burgundy and Flanders refuse to be taxed.

On hearing this he burst into a paroxysm of fury, swearing that the rebels should pay dearly for their insolence, and that he would shortly level their walls and gates with the dust. But reaction came when he felt his solitary position, and he sunk into deep dejection. Referred by the Flemings to the French, and by the French to the Flemings, what was left him?

The Duke's rage.

As to the Duke himself, I incline to believe that the idea of a great empire, and of harmonizing into one orderly whole the chaos of provinces of which he claimed to be master, excused in his eyes the unjust means which a man of noble nature, and such he was, might have felt prick his conscience. This, perchance, is the reason that he did not own to himself that he was guilty, and recur to the true remedy pointed out by the sage Comines:—To turn to God, and confess one's fault.

The unfortunate man had time to revolve

all this for the two months that he remained near Joux, in a gloomy castle of the Jura. He formed a camp to which no one came, hardly a few recruits. But what did come, coursing each other's heels, was bad news;—this ally had gone over, that servant disobeyed orders, now a town of Lorraine had surrendered, and next day, another. As these reports were brought in he said nothing. He saw no one, but shut himself up.

Isolated position of the Duke.

Chagrin would most likely have driven him mad, had not the very excess of his chagrin and wrath roused him. From every quarter he heard of men acting as if he were already dead. The King, who had hitherto displayed such precaution in his dealings with him, had the Duchess of Savoy carried off from his territories, from his castle of Rouvre, and was exhorting the Swiss to invade Burgundy, offering to take charge of Flanders himself, while he supplied Réné, who was gradually recovering Lorraine, with money. Now Lorraine lay nearest of all to the Duke's heart; it was the link which united all his provinces, and the natural centre of the Burgundian Empire, of which he was said to have designed to make Nancy the capital.

René takes Nancy.

Thither he set out, as soon as he had got a small band together, and again arrived too late (22d of October), three days after Réné had retaken Nancy; retaken it, but not provisioned, so that the chance was that before

Réné could raise money, take Swiss into his pay, and form an army, Nancy would be wrested from him. The Pope's legate was intriguing with the Swiss in favor of the Duke of Burgundy, and balanced the French King's credit with them.

The Pope's legate favors the Duke.

All Réné could at first obtain was that the confederates should send an embassy to the Duke to ascertain his intentions; though it was little worth while to send, since every one knew beforehand that his final determination would be—nothing without Lorraine and the Landgraviate of Alsace.

Réné solicits aid from the Swiss.

Happily, Réné had a powerful, active, irresistible intercessor with the Swiss—the King. After the battle of Morat, the leaders of the Swiss had managed to be sent as ambassadors to Plessis-les-Tours, where these brave men found their Capua, since their good friend, the King, by flattery, presents, friendship, and confidence, bound them with such sweet chains, that they did all he wished, resigned their conquests in Savoy, and gave up everything for an inconsiderable sum. The troops, victorious in the late brilliant campaign, discovered that they would be dismissed to the tedium of their mountain life unless they declared for Réné; in which case the King guaranteed them their pay. The war, it was true, would take them from home, the service was a hirel[illegible]e; they were about to begin their sad his[illegible] mercenary soldiers.

The Swiss become mercenary soldiers.

There was need for despatch. Nancy was suffering severely. Réné canvassed Switzerland, solicited, pressed, and got no other answer than that he might possibly have succor in the spring. The deacons of the trades, butchers, tanners, rough folk, but full of heart (and great friends of the King), cried shame on their towns for not aiding him who had aided them so well in the great battle. They pointed to the poor young Prince in their streets, who went about wandering, weeping like a mendicant . . . a tame bear which followed him delighted the populace by flattering and courting, after its fashion, the bear of Berne, and he was at last allowed, without the cantons being pledged by the step, to levy some troops. The permission was, in fact, obtaining everything, since the instant it was made publicly known that there were four florins a month to be gained, so many presented themselves that it was found necessary to range them under the respective banners of the cantons, and to limit their number, or all would have left.

The Swiss promise aid.

The difficulty was to make this long march, in the heart of winter, along with ten thousand Germans, often drunk, who obeyed no one.

The winter, this year, was terrible, a Moscow winter; and the Duke experienced (in little) the disasters of the famous retreat. Four hundred men were frozen to death on Christmas night alone; and many lost their hands

Severity of the winter.

or feet. The horses burst; and the few left were sick and weakly. Yet how make up his mind to raise the siege, when a day might place the city in his hands; when a Gascon deserter had brought word that the garrison had eaten all the horses, and were subsisting on dogs and cats?

The city was the Duke's, if he could maintain a strict blockade, and prevent any one from entering it. A few gentlemen having contrived to throw themselves in, he flew into a violent rage, and had one of them who was taken, hanged; maintaining (according to the Spanish code), that "the moment a prince has set down before a place, whoever passes his lines merits death." This poor gentleman, when at the gibbet, declared that he had an important disclosure to make to the Duke, a secret which affected his personal safety. The Duke charged his factotum, Campobasso, to learn what he wanted; now what he wanted was, to reveal all Campobasso's treasons: the latter had him executed at once.

Cruelty of the Duke.

Réné, what with Lorrainers and Frenchmen, had collected an army of nearly twenty thousand men, and he had been apprised by Campobasso that the Duke had not five thousand fit for service. The Burgundians settled among themselves that he ought to be warned of the small force on which he could depend; but none durst address him. He was almost always shut up in his tent, reading, or pretend-

The two armies.

ing to read. The Lord of Chimai, who took the risk upon himself, and forced his way in, found him lying dressed, on a bed, and could extract but one word from him: "If needs be, I will fight alone." The King of Portugal, who went to see him, left without obtaining more.

He was addressed as if he were a living man, but he was dead. Franche-Comté opened negotiations independently of him; Flanders detained his daughter as a hostage; Holland, on a report being spread of his death, drove out his tax-gatherers (end of December). The fatal time had come. The best that was left for him to do, if he would not go and ask his subjects' pardon, was to seek death in the assault, or to endeavor, with the small but long-tried band still devoted to him, to cut his way through Réné's overpowering forces. He had artillery, which Réné had not, or at least to a very limited extent. His followers were few, but they were truly his, lords and gentlemen, full of honor, ancient retainers, resigned to perish with him.

Charles's extremity.

On the Saturday evening he tried a last assault, which was repulsed by the starving garrison of Nancy, strengthened as they were by hope, and by seeing already on the towers of Saint Nicolas the joyous signals of deliverance. On the next day, through a heavy fall of snow, the Duke silently quitted his camp, and hastened to meet the enemy, thinking to bar the

His assault is repulsed.

passage with his artillery. He had not much hope himself; and as he was putting on his helmet, the crest fell to the ground: "Hoc est signum Dei," he said, and mounted his large black war-horse. An evil omen.

The Burgundians soon came to a rivulet swollen by the melted snow, which they had to ford, and then, frozen as they were, to take up a position and await the Swiss. The latter, full of hope, and supported by a hearty meal of hot soup, largely watered with wine, arrived from Saint Nicolas. Shortly before the rencounter, "a Swiss quickly donned a stole," showed his countrymen the Host, and assured them that whatever might be the result, they were all saved. So numerous and dense were their masses, that while opposing a front to the Burgundians and occupying their attention at every point, they easily detached a body from the rear to turn their flank as at Morat, and to take possession of the heights which commanded them. One of the victors himself confesses that the Duke's cannon had scarcely time to fire a shot. As soon as they saw themselves attacked on the flank, the infantry gave way, and it was out of the question to stay their flight. They heard high above the lowing horn of Underwald, the shrill cornet of war. Their hearts were chilled by the sound, "for at Morat they had heard it." The Burgundian infantry give way.

The cavalry, left alone in presence of this mass of twenty thousand men, was hardly to

be discerned on the snow-covered plain. The snow was slippery, and the horsemen fell. "At this moment," says the eye-witness, who followed in the pursuit, "we only saw horses without riders, and all sorts of property abandoned." The greater number of the fugitives pressed on as far as the bridge of Bussière. Campobasso, suspecting this, had barred the bridge, and awaited them there. The pursuit was checked on his account; his comrades, whom he had just deserted, passed through his hands, and he reserved those who had the means of paying ransom.

Campobasso's treachery.

The inhabitants of Nancy, who saw the whole from their walls, were so frantic with joy as to hurry forth without precaution, so that some fell by the hands of their friends the Swiss, who struck without attending. The mass of the routed were impelled by the inclination of the ground to a spot where two rivulets met, near a frozen pond, and the ice, which was weaker over these running waters, broke under the weight of the men-at-arms. Here, the waning fortunes of the House of Burgundy sank forever. The Duke stumbled there; and he was followed by men whom Campobasso had left for the purpose. Others believe that it was a baker of Nancy who struck him first a blow on the head, and that a man-at-arms, who was deaf, and did not hear that he was the Duke of Burgundy, despatched him with thrusts of his lance.

Death of the Duke.

This took place on Sunday (5th January, 1477), and, on Monday evening, it was still not known whether he was dead or alive. The chronicler of Réné naïvely confesses that his master was in great alarm lest he should see him return. In the evening, Campobasso, who perhaps knew more of the matter than any one, brought to him a Roman page, of the House of Colonna, who stated that he had seen his master fall. "The said page and a large company set off . . . they began examining all the dead bodies, which were naked and frozen, and could hardly be recognized. The page, looking here and there, found many powerful personages, and great and little ones, as white as snow. He turned them all over. . . . 'Alas!' he said, 'here is my good lord.'

Search for Charles's body.

"When the Duke heard that he was found, right joyous was he, notwithstanding that he would rather he had remained in his own country, and had never begun war against him. . . . And he said, 'Bear him in with all honor.' He was put within fair linen, and borne into the house of George Marqueiz, into a back chamber. The said Duke was decently washed, he was fair as snow; he was small, but exceedingly well limbed. He was laid out on a table, covered up in white sheets, with a silken pillow, a red canopy above his head, his hands clasped together, and the cross and holy water near him. All who wished to see

Interment of the Duke.

him might; none were turned back. Some prayed to God for him, others not. . . . Three days and three nights there he lay."

His wounds.

He had met with rough treatment. His head had been laid open, and he had been stabbed in both thighs, and in the fundament. He had been with some difficulty recognized. In removing his head from the ice, the skin had come off on that side of his face; and the other cheek had been gnawed by the dogs and wolves. However, his attendants, his physician, his body-servant, and his laundress, recognized him by the wound he had received at Montlhéry, by his teeth, his nails, and some private marks.

Rene's conduct.

He was also recognized by Olivier de la Marche, and many of the principal prisoners: "Duke Réné led them to see the Duke of Burgundy, entered the first, and uncovered his head. . . . They knelt down: 'Alas!' they said, 'there is our good master and lord.' . . . The Duke had proclamation made throughout the city of Nancy that each householder should attend, wax-taper in hand, and had the church of St. George hung all round with black cloth, and sent for the three abbots . . . and all the priests for two leagues round. Three high masses were sung." Réné, in deep mourning mantle, with all his Lorraine and Swiss captains, came to sprinkle him with holy water, "and clasping his right hand in his under the pall," he exclaimed graciously, "Well-a-day,

fair cousin, may God have your soul in his holy keeping! You have wrought us great harm and grief."

It was not easy to persuade the people that he who had been the theme of every tongue was really dead. . . . He was concealed, ran the rumor, he was immured in prison, he had turned monk; he had been seen by pilgrims in Germany, at Rome, at Jerusalem; sooner or later he would reappear, like King Arthur or Frederick Barbarossa; it was certain that he would return. There were merchants even who gave goods on credit, to be paid double when the great Duke of Burgundy came back.

Popular incredulity of the Duke's death.

It is asserted that the gentleman who had the misfortune to kill him, not knowing who he was, could never be consoled, and died of grief. If he were thus regretted by the enemy, how much more by his servants, by those who had known his noble nature, before he lost his head and was ruined! When the chapter of the Golden Fleece met for the first time at Saint-Sauveur's, Bruges, and the knights, reduced to five, beheld in this vast church, on a cushion of black velvet, the Duke's collar which occupied his accustomed place, and read upon his scutcheon, after the list of his titles, "the dolorous word, *Dead*," they burst into tears.

[The Turks ravage Italy with fire and sword (1477-1478). Giulio de' Medici is

killed by the conspiracy of the Pazzi; his brother, Lorenzo the Magnificent, succeeds (1478). The Christian kingdoms of Spain are united under Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile (1479). The Inquisition is established in Spain; first auto-de-fé (1484) at Seville.]

The Inquisition established.

END OF VOLUME TWO